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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION: THE PRUSSO-POLISH CASE

IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF POSEN, 1815 TO 1850

by



WERNER STEPHAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION: THE PRUSSO-POLISH CASE IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF POSEN, 1815-1850 submitted by WERNER STEPHAN in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.





## ABSTRACT

Polish-German relations during the last two centuries have been the focus of extensive research. The role of education has formed an indispensable part of those studies, but comparatively little consideration has been given to the changes introduced in the Grand Duchy of Posen during the first half of the nineteenth century, and secondary education in particular has received almost no attention at all.

The present study examines the process of gradual germanization of the region's gymnasia and Realschulen as part of the cultural changes introduced after the Congress of Vienna. An attempt is made to establish the links between the rise of nationalism on one hand, and socio-economic changes affecting the various groups involved in education, namely students, parents, administrators, and public organizations on the other. The transmission of Prusso-German cultural first principles was effected by teachers and the governmental bureaucracy with whom the students had direct or indirect contact, by the centrally prescribed curricula, and by the decision-making personnel of the state bureaucracy. In all these cases tendencies were discernible that ranged from 'national' to 'nationalist' aspirations, thus falling within the boundaries of 'nationalism' as defined in the present study.

In their reaction to policies of germanization, Polish national leaders endeavoured to foster a Polish national identity, thereby providing the foundations for Polish nationalism. The resultant manifestations and confrontations of German and Polish national identities also formed part of the school life in the Grand Duchy.





Prussian secondary education during the period 1815-1850 can be viewed as an instrument of social and political control. As part of the cultural transformation beginning in the Grand Duchy during those years, pedagogical theory and praxis is assessed within the context of larger cultural patterns or paradigms; culture is here understood as the accommodative milieu of a given time and place, with education providing some of the means by which the individual or social groups learned how to function within their culture.

Apart from the primarily historical concerns of the study, some implications for contemporary problem-areas in comparative and international education, such as bilingualism in education and the politicization of education, are clearly evident. The examination of transfer processes by which educational philosophies and institutions were transmitted cross-culturally, also point at perennial concerns of international education.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the most gratifying experiences in the course of research for the present study, but also at the various stages of writing, was the truly international cooperation without which the study could never have been completed. The writer is greatly indebted to the Polish Academy of Science and the Polish State Archives of Poznan and Bydgoszcz, but also to the Adam-Mickiewicz University of Poznan, for their extensive advice and assistance. The same willingness to help and to advise was encountered among the staffs of the university libraries of the Humboldt-University and of the Free University in Berlin, and of the universities of Goettingen and Cologne. The various kinds of information provided by other libraries and archives in Poland, the German Democratic Republic, and the Federal Republic of Germany can only be gratefully acknowledged summarily.

At least equally helpful was the generous support provided by the Canada Council and the University of Alberta, enabling the writer to research and to write without undue financial constraints.

The 'international' or rather inter-cultural composition of the supervisory committee made its impact felt on the drafting and the finalizing of the present study, as well. Here the innumerable suggestions and constructive criticisms provided by Dr. H. Garfinkle, Dr. A. Thimme, Dr. I.L. Rudnytski, and Dr. H.K. Rosenthal deserve mentioning in the first place. They are representative of the kind of scholarly guidance also extended by the other committee members throughout the last few years.

However, basic to the successful completion of the present





study was the continuous understanding and encouragement on the part of the writer's wife and daughter, sharing with him the frustrations as well as the gratifications of a student's life.

Typing of the last draft was undertaken by Mrs. I. Huk; the maps were prepared by Mr. Gunter Vohr.





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## CHAPTER ONE

### Education and the Nation State

#### (a) Introduction

The investigation of political movements in continental Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century cannot bypass the year 1815. It signified a historical marking-point, and the consequences could be felt into the twentieth century. The map of Europe was once more redrawn, and in a concerted effort of the victorious powers that had defeated the Napoleonic Army, a balance of power was to be established. The objective was to contain the forces released by the French Revolution and the subsequent Bonapartist regime. Territorial changes decided upon at the Congress of Vienna were underscored by the Holy Alliance, signed by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Tsar of Russia, and the further cooperation of the three monarchs rested on the following principles:

Conformably to the word of the Holy Scripture, which commands all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect religion, peace and justice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>G.A. Kertesz (ed.), Documents in the Political History of the European Continent 1815-1939 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 8.



Although Great Britain agreed to similar objectives in the Quadruple Alliance of November 1815, no other country joined the three rulers in their quest for a common approach in European politics.

The effects of the Holy Alliance on Prussian governmental and administrative decisions concerning the Grand Duchy of Posen were noticeable throughout the period 1815-1850, and if one views Prussian foreign and domestic policies in relation to Russian political measures regarding her Polish acquisitions, these Prussian decisions were reactions rather than constructive, innovative policies. For example, during the reign of Alexander I, his comparatively liberal attitude towards the Kingdom of Poland prompted the Prussian government to follow similar principles. Under Nicholas I, Alexander's policy was abandoned, and again Frederick William III of Prussia adjusted his policies concerning his Polish subjects, especially after the uprising in Russian Poland in 1830-31. The Prussian government's stance with respect to the political reorganization of the Grand Duchy in 1848-49 was also largely determined by the fear of Russian military intervention.

Concomitant with the changes in international politics, fluctuations in domestic policies likewise strongly influenced the decisions of the Prussian government regulating public life in the Grand Duchy. The new era initially begun by Frederick William IV after his accession to the throne in 1840 made its impact felt also on the province, and even the limited influence of the German Diet, as for example with respect to the Carlsbad Decrees and the establishment of the Central Commission of Investigation at Mainz in 1820, was noticeable in the Grand Duchy. Thus a variety of factors determined the political status





and the public life in the area under discussion, and with those shifts in political direction, educational policies changed as well.

The agency responsible for translating political considerations into education decisions was the administration. Thereby another crucial factor was introduced, and since it extended from the royal ministries to the local level, its presence could be felt most strongly. But while the administrative bureaucracy of the various ministries was experienced only indirectly, the face-to-face relationship of the provincial authorities with the Grand Duchy's population introduced an additional layer in the power structure controlling public life in general and the schools in particular.

As far as secondary schools were concerned, the reforms initiated in Poland and in Prussia during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not fail to have their effects on the pedagogical debate even after 1815. The Polish innovations, however, had largely been discarded in the areas annexed by Prussia in the course of the Polish Partitions before 1806, although they were briefly revived in the Duchy of Warsaw. More lasting effects, on the other hand, resulted from the reform-movement of classical humanism or neo-humanism, with Wilhelm von Humboldt as its best-known spokesman. These reformers had been concerned about the extent of state-interference in the upbringing of the young, as compared to more traditional agencies of education, namely the family, the Church, and the local community. The historical situation, however, in which Prussia found herself after having lost her independence in 1806, had favoured the emergence of ideas centred around the concept of national education, with the state



expected to assume the major responsibility. The brief flowering of the two pedagogical movements, classical humanism and national education, before and shortly after the Wars of Liberation, was gradually superseded by the bureaucratization of education. As a result, by 1824 a clearly state-oriented educational system with its political mandate more or less clearly defined eliminated most of the socio-political objectives of the various reformers. Instead, considerations were introduced that had their origin in the all-pervasive endeavour of preserving the social and political status quo rather than genuinely pedagogic concerns.

The purpose of the following presentation is the examination of a very specific example of the politicization of education. This process was complicated by the fact that the schools involved were located in an area only recently acquired by the Prussian state, and they had in the past mainly served the Polish aristocracy and upper gentry. More precisely, the study will investigate how formerly Polish secondary schools became part of the state-controlled Prussian educational system, and how concomitantly Prusso-German cultural concepts began to replace indigenous cultural traditions and norms. Moreover, the collateral changes within Polish society will form part of the presentation, as well as the emergence of a national consciousness among Polish nationals, resulting in recurring confrontations with the Prussian authorities. Both the Prussian measures of incorporating the Polish Prussians into the mainstream of Prusso-German culture, and Polish attempts at resisting assimilation and, instead, aiming at political and thereby cultural independence, appear to reflect a 'state of





mind' which may provisionally be labelled 'nationalism'.

The significance of the study is so far strictly historical, in that an account of the Grand Duchy's secondary schools during the first half of the nineteenth century will be offered which has been lacking so far, at least with respect to German and English studies in education. More contemporary educational issues as, for example, the school's role in the socialization process or, more specifically, in political socialization, will form part of the discussion. The way in which the problem of bilingual education in an area with an ethnically mixed population was approached, will certainly be of interest for modern education, as will be the discussion of transfer processes involving cultural concepts and institutions of primary importance. Here the underlying principles as well as the methods of transplanting educational know-how, be it voluntarily or by imposition, will give additional insights into the working of inter-national influences in education.

#### (b) Statement of the Problem

The dearth of studies written by educationists on the subject of nationalism and education is almost surprising. A chapter or a number of paragraphs in textbooks on the history of education seem to be deemed sufficient<sup>2</sup>, or in monographs that profess to discuss the aforementioned subject, very little conceptual analysis is offered that

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<sup>2</sup>See for a more recent example, Elmer H. Wilds and Kenneth V. Lottich, The Foundations of Modern Education (4th ed.,; New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), pp. 318-57.



would provide a framework for future studies.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, historians writing on 'nationalism' usually recognize the importance of the schools for the propagation of respective doctrines;<sup>4</sup> quite understandably, however, they give less emphasis to the discussion of the problems arising for education out of the political mandate imposed on the schools in the pursuit of nationalist objectives.

Among the possible reasons for educationists to address themselves only hesitatingly to the issue of nationalism in education, there are two that deserve a few comments. Firstly, the restricted cognitive dimension of the concept of nationalism not only places it dangerously close to irrational and 'metaphysical' belief system, but the ideological as well as emotional character of the concept tends to impede a dispassionate discussion. In other words, the epistemological aspect of teaching nationalist doctrines is best captured in the notion of indoctrination, and since the latter ranges at the bottom of desirable teaching-methods in contemporary Western educational thought, there exists little incentive to subject it to critical analysis. The second aspect almost forms a corollary of the first one: Nationalist movements during the last two centuries were more often than not characterized by violent and oppressive actions, ranging from

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<sup>3</sup>While some discussion of nationalism can be found in Gladys A. Wiggin, Education and Nationalism--An Historical Interpretation of American Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962), pp. 3-21, this is conspicuously absent in Edward B. Reisner, Nationalism and Education Since 1789 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936).

<sup>4</sup>See here, for example, C.J.H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism (New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1936).



victimization of minority groups, to discrimination against individuals on the basis of national prejudice. Thus the axiological aspects of nationalism escape conclusive definition due to their being embedded in dominant political doctrines.

The present study attempts to contribute to a clarification of the problem 'nationalism and education'. As stated before, much of what shaped the public life in the Grand Duchy of Posen during the first half of the nineteenth century, increasingly so in the 1840's, can be conceived of in terms of nationalism. The way in which the government (and with it the various levels of administration) sought to re-shape the province's secondary educational institutions, is expected to provide some significant insights into the interdependence of nationalism and education under specific historical constellations. 'Germanization' is the term most frequently used for describing the respective Prussian policies for integrating or assimilating the Polish subjects into the Prussian state and thereby into the sphere of German culture. There is general consensus about deliberate and forceful germanization-attempts during the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. But, as will be argued, the idea of germanizing the Polish Prussians was voiced as early as 1815 and continued to be entertained more or less visibly throughout the first half of the century.<sup>5</sup> Very little attention has been given to educational developments and their relevance for political life in the Grand Duchy during those early years, at least outside Poland herself, as far as comprehensive studies are con-

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<sup>5</sup>For a strong indictment of Prussian germanization-efforts during the early years, see Constantin Frantz, Polen, Preussen und Deutschland (Siegburg: Respublica Verlag F. Schmidt, 1969, reprint of the 1848-edition).





cerned.<sup>6</sup> This is the more surprising since the graduates of the gymnasia and the Realschulen were the ones who in later years became instrumental in initiating and supporting Polish strategies of national survival and, eventually, of national and social reconstruction.

### (c) Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The study of Prusso-Polish relations during the nineteenth century has produced a sizeable body of literature, and a great variety can be found in the explanations offered for specific political measures. A number of different approaches emerge among Polish authors, although their spectrum of disagreement is rather limited in that they all condemn the Polish Partitions as a grave injustice inflicted on Poland, and only in their analysis of the country's fate under Prussian rule are differences more pronounced.<sup>7</sup> A different picture is presented in Prussian and German historiography. The disagreement here ranges from wholehearted approval of Prussia's political policies and actions, to highly critical assessments. More generally, the latter were most conspicuous during the revolutionary years of 1848-49, and here the aforementioned Constantin Frantz is a prime example. A similarly critical stance prevailed in most publications of the late 1960's and early 1970's. But even in Imperial Germany, when under the pervasive influence

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<sup>6</sup>For an overall assessment of Prussian educational policies, see Stefan Truchim, Historia szkolnictwa i oswiaty polskiej w Wielkim Ksiestwie Poznanskim 1815-1915 (Lodz, 1962). The first volume deals with the period 1815-1867 and discusses secondary as well as elementary education.

<sup>7</sup>For a more 'moderate' criticism, see W. Feldman, Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (Osnabrueck: Otto Zeller, 1964. Reprint of the 1917-edition). Highly polemical, on the other hand, is German Withdrawal in the East, edited by the Polish Research Council in London in 1941.



of the Ostmarkenverein (Eastern Marches Association) strongly anti-Polish feelings were aroused <sup>8</sup> a few writers, such as the historian H. Delbrueck<sup>9</sup> and H. von Gerlach, voiced their criticism of governmental policies towards the Prussian Poles. The present study cannot claim to have excluded subjectivity to a greater extent than normally found in other publications on this particular subject. In this respect, it needs to be emphasized that the problem under discussion is viewed and analyzed from a certain perspective, although the need for the greatest possible objectivity will be the guiding principle for the following presentation.

'Objective' limitations have been imposed by the inaccessibility of documents located at the German Central Archives at Merseburg in East Germany.<sup>10</sup> The correspondence between the Ministry of Education and other ministries, and the educational authorities in the Grand Duchy could therefore only be incorporated in the present study as far as it formed part of the respective files of the President-in-Chief's office (Oberpraesidium) in Posen, or of the various secondary schools.

The present writer's lack of sufficient knowledge of Polish restricts the utilization of secondary sources to German and English texts. However, a number of Polish authors have been translated into German, and some journals and monographs representing the Polish point

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Wonser Tims, Germanizing Prussian Poland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

<sup>9</sup> Anneliese Thimme, Hans Delbrueck als Kritiker der wilhelminischen Epoche (Duesseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1955), pp. 77-100.

<sup>10</sup> Although the present writer obtained permission to study the respective documents at the archives, he was unable to obtain the necessary visa to travel to Merseburg.



of view have been published in English and German, and thus a certain balance can be achieved. But since virtually all the primary sources were written in German, the language-restrictions are expected to be of little consequence.

Concerning the delimitations of the study, the focus is on that part of Poland that had been allotted to Prussia after the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. All the other formerly Polish territories which had come under Prussian rule in the course of the Polish Partitions and which had remained under Prussian control after 1806 are thus excluded from the discussion. The particular political status of the Grand Duchy as compared to Western Prussia appears to warrant this delimitation.

The study is restricted to the 35-year period from 1815 to 1850 for two reasons. Firstly, an extension beyond 1850 would have expanded the scope of the study considerably because at least another two decades (until 1871) would have had to be considered. Secondly, the revolutionary period beginning in 1846 and ending in 1849, and the reaffirmation of Prussian rule after a short period of indecision about the political future of the Grand Duchy in 1849-50 can be accepted as a convenient cut-off point, since the amended constitution terminated the special status of the Grand Duchy as a Prussian province. Moreover, research regarding educational change in the area after 1850 has been comparatively extensive.

#### (d) Design of the Study

As has been mentioned earlier, this study will conceive of nationalism not in narrowly political terms, but as a cultural phenomenon in the widest possible sense. Education can thus be placed in a



more or less central position, with primary consideration given to the school's function of socialization, particularly with respect to political socialization. The implicit notion of social and political control appears to form one of the central issues in the discussion of 'nationalism and education' and thereby is at the basis of the following working-hypothesis underlying the present study:

- (1) Since schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have increasingly assumed a decisive function in attributing chances of upward social mobility, they had at the same time to re-define their role in training a country's intellectual elite. Admission policies for secondary (and higher) education, and the schools' internal organization regarding curricula, pedagogy, and evaluation, have provided the determinants as to who should be admitted into the more prestigious positions of public life and, eventually, into positions of social and political control. The more 'open' the education system is, the more 'democratic' will this selection-procedure be. Conversely, the more restrictively secondary schools grant admission, and the more curricula, pedagogy, and evaluation are determined by extra-curricular factors, such as economic needs, public opinion and pressure, or political exigencies, the more will the schools retain control over the composition of future elites.
- (2) Expansion of educational facilities is not necessarily a measure of democratization, although a greater proportion of a given age-group will potentially advance socially. Instead, the ways in which curricula, pedagogy, and evaluation reflect the values of majority-groups or minority-groups, decide the democratic or non-democratic character of such expansions.





The following presentation will consist of three major parts. Firstly, a brief conceptual framework regarding the two key-concepts will be established; also, an outline of the state of secondary education in the territory under discussion immediately prior to the Prussian take-over will be provided so that the changes introduced can be assessed comparatively. The second part begins with the presentation of Prussian educational principles and objectives, and their implementation in the Grand Duchy during the early years of Prussian rule. An occasional glance at educational practice in Prussia proper will help to differentiate between the mechanical transfer of existing policies, and specific measures for ensuring conformity. Subsequent chapters will present and analyze the social and religious (and thereby ethnic) composition of the schools' students and teachers. Two specific aspects will here be emphasized: (i) the growth of the number of schools and with it the numerical increase of the student population; and (ii) the subsequent changes in the social and ethnic composition of students and teachers. Insofar as the latter are concerned, their recruitment, transfers and, if applicable, disciplinary actions taken against them, will be included.

The discussion of internal and external principles and changes in the schools' organization, but also the curricular policies for civic education, specifically history, religion, and language, forms one of the foci of the third part. Additionally, administrative problems in operating the schools at various times will be examined. The conclusions to be drawn from the material presented throughout the study will attempt to relate the educational characteristics of the 1815-1850



period to the concept of nationalism. In order to reserve the main body of the study for the presentation of arguments and analysis, most of the data collected for the study will be included in an appendix for possible future references.

(e) Nationalism and Education

The difficulties encountered in objectively assessing nationalism as a potential force in education have already been mentioned, and to provide for a detailed discussion of the various historians' concept of nationalism would definitely go beyond the scope and intention of the present study. And yet, a stipulative definition will have to be supplied in order to establish a frame of reference for a better understanding of the way in which the concept of nationalism will be used in the context of this specific investigation.

Broadly speaking, there exist certain differences in the use of the concept of nationalism in German and Anglo-Saxon historiography. A few words are necessary to clarify this aspect, since most of the following arguments will deal with a most sensitive facet of German political culture, viewed from an Anglo-Saxon perspective. German historians tend to use the term in a morally depreciative way,<sup>11</sup> although with E. Lemberg's comprehensive study on nationalism a new approach has been presented.<sup>12</sup> A more 'balanced' view has traditionally been suggested by Anglo-Saxon scholars in the field. As they argue, nationalism can act as a liberating force, e.g. with respect to national

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<sup>11</sup> Reinhard Wittram, Das Nationale als europaeisches Problem (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954).

<sup>12</sup> Eugen Lemberg, Nationalismus, 1964.



liberation movements. On the other hand, it can also be turned into an instrument for establishing authoritarian rule within a country and inspire aggressive actions against foreign nations.<sup>13</sup> Hans Kohn's well-known dictum, namely that nationalism signifies a state of mind, attaching the loyalty of an individual to the nation-state,<sup>14</sup> aptly comprises the Janus-faced nature of nationalism. At the same time, however, his definition also suggests the way in which nationalist objectives can become educationally relevant: Since education has among its various aims the development of an individual's emotional capacities, nationalist doctrines can become part and parcel of the schools' function of developing a desired 'state of mind'.

A slightly different approach has been followed by C.J.H. Hayes.<sup>15</sup> He differentiates between a variety of 'nationalisms' as they emerged in the course of the last two centuries, with 'humanitarian' and 'integral' nationalism forming the two extreme poles delimiting the spectrum of 'nationalism'. Education, according to Hayes, has the vital role of promoting the cause of 'humanitarian' or enlightened nationalism, and of counteracting the inherent dangers of an 'integral' nationalism. Another aspect of nationalism that is of major relevance for the present study, has been emphasized by Potter.<sup>16</sup> In his opinion, nationalism is

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<sup>13</sup> Morris Ginsberg, Nationalism: A Reappraisal (Leeds: University Press, 1963).

<sup>14</sup> Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: Crowell-Collier and Macmillan, Inc., 1951).

<sup>15</sup> Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 230.

<sup>16</sup> David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice-Versa" in American Historical Review, Vol. 67, 1961-62.





based on two psychological premises: the feeling of common culture, and the feeling of common interests. As a corollary, the rise of nationalism is closely interwoven with the emergence of modern democracy and with industrialization:

. . . it is clear that the rise of democracy represents an admission of the masses to certain civic privileges and expectations of property ownership, that is, to a stake in society. The nation-state, of course, served as the instrument for the protection of this stake, and the people's spirit of loyalty to the nation was partly their response to that which protected their interests. Until democracy gave them an interest to protect, they were incapable of this response--incapable of nationalism.<sup>17</sup>

More on the interdependence of this 'stake in society' or property ownership, and the emergence of nationalist movements will have to be said in the course of the study.

From the arguments presented so far, the following concept of nationalism will form the basis for further discussions: Nationalism is a form of group-loyalty and thus a psychological phenomenon or 'state of mind', with the supreme allegiance of the individual focusing on the nation, i.e., a community of people sharing the same territory, language, history, law, traditions and, to some degree at least, the same religion. The assumed communality of interests is psychologically reinforced by emphasizing common character-traits and ideals. The rationale for nationalism can range from nation-building and nation-preserving to nation-expanding.

Nationalism has so far been discussed in more or less historical terms. Democratization and industrialization, however, were

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<sup>17</sup>Potter, "Historian's View of Nationlism", p. 936.



historically accompanied by the rise of public systems of education as part of the overall process of modernization. This modernization-process was aimed at increasing the state's efficiency in terms of the state's social and political functions, and education had a clearly defined place in providing for a citizenry capable of filling the various roles in social, political, and economic life as they became increasingly complex and differentiated. Although one will find it hard to differentiate between democratization and industrialization, there are good reasons to assume that democratization in particular helped to make education an instrument for the pursuit of national or nationalist policies. For example, the quest for, and the introduction of, governments based on constitutional principles facilitated the shift of the citizen's loyalty from the personified head of the state, i.e. the king, to the impersonal collective, i.e. 'society', 'state', or 'nation'.

The present study focuses on this crucial aspect of modern educational history: The emergence of the nation-state, the transition from enlightened absolutism to constitutional government, i.e., the change from non-representation of the citizenry to incipient forms of democratic participation in shaping the future of the country, appears to signal the potential convergence of nationalist ambitions on one hand, and public education on the other.

#### (f) The Concept of National Education in Prussia in the Early 19th Century

Plans for a national education began to appear in Europe as early as 1763 when La Chalotais published his Essay on National Education. But also in Poland and Prussia was the idea of assigning the state a greater responsibility in the upbringing of the young gaining



support during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In order to clarify the full meaning of the new movement, but also in order to introduce Prussian educational thought into the present discussion, more has to be said about the changing concept of education.

The origin of ideas favouring national identity and unity among Germans virtually coincided with La Chalotais' publication. In 1765 Friedrich Karl von Moser wrote his treatise Der deutsche Nationalgeist (The German National Spirit), in which he advocated a diffuse imperial patriotism of the minor estates,<sup>18</sup> in contradistinction to the spirit evident in the 'monster of a militaristic-patriotic form of government' in Germany's north, i.e., Prussia. Nonetheless, his ideas were partially revived in the Kingdom of Prussia when a number of factors came together that changed the political situation profoundly. Apart from the democratic ideas spread by the French Revolution, and additional to the nostalgic philosophy of the romanticists, it was the inglorious defeat of the Prussian Army at the hands of Napoleon that provided fertile grounds for the seeds of national feelings. Not only had the almost legendary efficiency of the Prussian military apparatus suffered a decisive defeat by a republican army, but the entire philosophy of enlightened absolutism and the concomitant life-style had been shaken in their foundations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the stream of romantic thought seemed to be exhausted, and an interest in political and social affairs emerged as a new intellectual element. The romanticists also began to react to Napoleonic rule; "they became conscious

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<sup>18</sup> Friedrich Meinecke, Weltbuergerum und Nationalstaat (Berlin: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1917), p. 28.



of their national peculiarities, and they began to carry out their doctrine of educating the selected individual by recognizing the significance of the masses, that is, the social unit. German nationality henceforth became their program".<sup>19</sup> Leading poets of the romantic movement, like the Schlegels and Herder, proceeded with "astonishing rapidity" from cosmopolitanism to national politics. The same transition could be witnessed in Fichte's philosophy. The two ideals of Weltbuerkertum and a well-defined national identity were initially blended in almost perfect harmony: Cosmopolitanism was the will that the purpose of man's existence as a species be realized in existing mankind. Patriotism, on the other hand, was the will to achieve this end first of all within one's own nation, from where it would spread globally.<sup>20</sup> Contrary to the particularistic orientations that had been at the bottom of Moser's concept of nationalism, Fichte preferred to see all the German states striving towards the same goal, namely the promotion of a German national character. Prussian patriotism was in his opinion legitimate as long as it was not esoteric, i.e., trying to seek fulfilment in itself. Fichte was a Prussian himself. But he judged Prussia's separation from the rest of Germany as artificial,

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<sup>19</sup>Oskar Walzel, German Romanticism (New York: Capricorn Books, 1966), pp. 134-35.

<sup>20</sup>Paul Kluckhohn, Die Idee des Volkes im Schrifttum der deutschen Bewegung von Moeser und Herder bis Grimm (Berlin: Junker und Duennhaupt Verlag, 1934), p. 110. This passage is difficult to translate, and the German text will be useful at this point: "Kosmopolitismus ist der herrschende Wille, dass der Zweck des Daseins des Menschengeschlechts im Menschengeschlecht verwirklicht werde. Patriotismus ist der Wille, dass dieser Zweck erreicht werde zu allererst in denjenigen Nationen, deren Mitglieder wir selber sind, und dass von diesen aus der Erfolg sich verbreite ueber das ganze Geschlecht."





since it was based on arbitrarily established institutions. The segregation of Germans from other European nations, however, he thought was natural because they formed well-defined entities, due to their languages and various national characters.<sup>21</sup> Fichte even felt that the state should exercise coercive powers, and he advocated rational despotism as long as it served the ideal of Deutschheit (German-ness). Although he was philosophically close to Macchiavelli and to the philosophers of the Enlightenment in his appreciation of the drive for power as a wholesome and natural force, Fichte introduced an almost democratic bent in stipulating that the 'nation' should be a factor of control, checking the self-interest of the ruler.

The distinction between 'nation' and 'people' (Nation und Volk) is most important in Fichte's concept of national education. The former was to be given priority: The rational state cannot be formed out of any populace, but only out of a nation that had been educated to serve this purpose: In his words,

Only that nation which has, as its primary objective, solved the task of educating its people to perfection, will subsequently succeed in solving the task of establishing the perfect state.<sup>22</sup>

In a sense, Fichte's call for a new concept of education originated in his deep distrust of man as he had been shaped by the educators of the Enlightenment. The widespread egotism, as he saw it, signaled "the general moral decline" not only among Germans, but of mankind as a whole.<sup>23</sup> Hence, the collapse of the political order was

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<sup>21</sup>Meinecke, Weltbuergerium, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup>Meinecke, Weltbuergerium, p. 108.

<sup>23</sup>Otto Friedrich Bollnow, Die Paedagogik der deutschen Romantik (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 77.



less attributable to military defeat; the roots were to be found in internal, moral degeneration. Conversely, the new education with its aim of re-instituting high ethical standards was the prerequisite for a thorough political liberation. Needless to say that education was to be universal, regardless of the students' social background. But as the traditional family had already yielded to the Enlightenment's corrupting influence, the function of educating the young had to be assigned to a different agency: the state. Moreover, in order to escape the 'demoralizing' effects of urban living, educational institutions should be located in the countryside.

The essence of Fichte's concept of national education, and a clear rejection of the notion of 'public' education, is found in his following statement:

By means of the new education it is intended to lead Germans towards a whole which in all its components is motivated and animated by the very same goal . . . . All we have to do is to provide this new education for every German, without exception, so that it will not be the education of a particular estate, but the education of the nation as such, not exempting a single person . . . . In doing so, we will not have an education of the people (Volkserziehung), but indigenous German national education (Nationalerziehung).<sup>24</sup>

Societal and political rejuvenation are, thus, two conceptions within Fichte's educational philosophy that cannot be separated. The latter, however, with its emphasis on ardent patriotism, is closely linked with his vision of a united Germany deserving a prominent place among the European nations: these views have deservedly been called nationalistic.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Bollnow, Paedagogik der deutschen Romantik, p. 80.

<sup>25</sup>E.B. Reisner, Nationalism and Education Since 1789, pp. 126-



Fichte's plan for a national education, nonetheless, did not determine Prussian educational reforms during the early nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Among those whose ideas were of more immediate consequences were notably Wilhelm von Humboldt, Nicolovius and Suevern, but also the philosopher/theologian Schleiermacher. Prior to Fichte's and Hegel's theories about the nation and the state, Humboldt had questioned the moral integrity of the state, especially with respect to education, in his essay Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Graenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen (Ideas for an attempt to define the limits of the state's efficiency).<sup>27</sup> In his opinion, state-administered education tends to favour a uniform approach, whereas particularly with regard to moral education a greater variety was mandatory. In assuming exactly the same position as J.S. Mills some fifty years later in his essay On Liberty, Humboldt was highly critical of the state's proclivity of

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<sup>26</sup> Fichte's Reden an die deutsche Nation were, for instance, no longer free to be published after 1824.

<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm von Humboldt, Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Graenzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates zu bestimmen (Breslau: Verlag von Ernst Trewendt, 1851), p. 57. Here, again, the original text may be helpful: "Gewiss ist es wohltaetig, wenn die Verhaeltnisse des Menschen und des Buergers so viel als moeglich zusammenfallen; aber es bleibt dies doch nur alsdann, wenn die des Buergers so wenig eigenthuemliche Eigenschaften erfordert, dass sich die natuerliche Gestalt des Menschen, ohne etwas aufzuopfern, erhalten kann, gleichsam das Ziel, wohin alle Ideen . . . allein hinstreben. Ganz und gar aber hoert es auf, heilsam zu sein, wenn der Mensch dem Buerger geopfert wird". To regard Humboldt's stance as a deliberate counter-argument directed against Hegel would be misleading, since he expressed his ideas assumedly in letters written in 1792-93. The book's publishing date of 1851, on the other hand, might indicate an attempt of counteracting Hegel's influence after the 1848-revolution, when his philosophy, and here especially his concept of the state, was used to criticize Prussia's political structures.





preparing the young first of all for their role as citizens, thereby eventually sacrificing their humanness. As he argued, it was certainly beneficial if the qualities of man coincided with those of the citizen as much as possible. But this was only possible if the characteristics of the citizen were kept unspecific so that the essence of man could be preserved. In other words, the qualities required of a citizen should be related to the ideal of humanism.

In its demand for the full development of every child's potential, Humboldt's classical humanism not only showed his indebtedness to the ideas formulated by Pestalozzi, but actually came very close to Fichte's plan for a national education: Education should provide for the greatest possible equality, and the socio-economic background of students was to be irrelevant. Greater social and political coherence was thereby expected to result.

Together with Nicolovius and Suevern, both fully sharing his views, he was charged with reforming the Prussian educational system. But, as Jeismann rightly adds, by that time Humboldt had cautiously, though clearly, affirmed the state's obligation as a guiding force in the spiritual rejuvenation of the nation.<sup>28</sup>

Schleiermacher's concept of education was founded in his cultural philosophy. The aim of education was here to promote every individual's capacity of becoming a member of the culture-preserving and culture-creating community. But since culture was to be conceived

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<sup>28</sup>Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "Nationalerziehung", in Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, Jahrgang 19, Heft 4, April 1968, p. 215.



of as a dynamic concept, subject to historical change, there could be no perennial concept of education. Instead, the parameters and the content of education would have to be redefined in the context of historical change. More specifically, the relationship between the state's authority and the educational system would have to be reassessed over and over again: State, nation, Church, and science, perceived in terms of culture, leave their imprint on language, laws, and customs, and it is the school's responsibility to introduce the young into the community of man as it is characterized by those cultural phenomena. Discrepancies or even disruptions might be the result of the state's deliberate interference in education, to the advantage of one particular segment of society:

. . . if the two coincide, namely suppression of the lower estate through education, and the wrong, artificial promotion of the upper estate, then total destruction is the outcome, and only wise Providence can, then, prevent complete dissolution or violent reaction.<sup>29</sup>

The similarity of Schleiermacher's scepticism regarding the nature of the state, with Humboldt's initial views is obvious. Both arrive at almost the same conclusions with respect to what should be the aim of the 'new' education, and only in the roles assigned to the individual or the community are differences more pronounced.

The discussion of the concepts of education endorsed by Fichte, Humboldt, and Schleiermacher, who were definitely among the most notable educators of their time, may have outlined what may be defined as 'national' education for the present study. Firstly, it is the development

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<sup>29</sup>Karl-Heinz Guenther et al., Geschichte der Erziehung (Berlin: Verlag Volk und Wissen, 1966), p. 220.



of all the potentials of the individual, namely of his intellectual as well as his spiritual and moral powers, but presumably also of his practical capabilities. Secondly, it is the provision of education for every child on the basis of equality, i.e., privileges due to socio-economic background should be eliminated. Finally, the interests of the nation, as represented by the enlightened state, should become part of the schools' concern. As far as the pursuit of these objectives is concerned, an ascending line from Humboldt to Schleiermacher and to Fichte could be established for this crucial point in German educational history. Only in Fichte's philosophy were the limits of a 'national' education left behind in that not only individual perfection should be secured, but the spirit of Germanness should be disseminated among other countries and nations.

The point just mentioned offers the opportunity of clarifying what in the present study will be called nationalist education. Here one has to remember that the concept of nationalism as previously defined was conceived of as a spectrum or continuum, with the notions of 'humanitarian' and 'integral' nationalism marking the delimiting points. For this reason, one may find it difficult to speak of clear-cut stages of nationalism, but rather is the transition characterized as an accumulative process wherein the increase in quantitative changes results in qualitatively new patterns of thought and behaviour. Nationalist education would, therefore, be defined by the same ideas and aspirations as outlined in the discussion of national education; however, the intensity of pressing political objectives at the expense of humanistic elements, but also the additional emphasis on emotional elements instead



of fostering a critical awareness among students, would introduce a novel quality.

The question of how the principles of national education were transformed into educational practice cannot be answered at this point. Suffice it to say that the ideas developed by Fichte, Humboldt, and Schleiermacher were demands rather than detailed plans for action, and it was left to practising teachers and educators to test the viability of those ideas. This aspect, namely attempts at introducing 'national' education, and the emergence of counter-influences, will form part of the following chapters.

#### (g) The Concept of Political Socialization

Modern education rarely uses the terms 'national' or 'nationalist' education for stating the political mandate of the schools. Instead, educators have begun to accept the notion of political socialization, and there exists obviously a high degree of congruence between 'national' and 'nationalist' education on one hand, and political socialization on the other. The following two statements, almost two centuries apart from each other, may illustrate the point. Fichte implored his contemporaries with his words,

everybody will work towards this independence and self-sufficiency with all his strength and yet without expecting any gains for himself, or claiming any property of it. Everyone will realize what he owes to the whole, but also that we will enjoy, or, if necessary, suffer with the whole.<sup>30</sup>

The underlying dissatisfaction with the work done by the schools was reiterated more recently in the contention that

the schools . . . have failed miserably to provide a politically relevant education--an education that not

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<sup>30</sup> Guenther et al., Geschichte der Erziehung, p. 215.





only encourages but cognitively and affectively enables one to become an active participant in the political process, rather than an uncritical and apathetic spectator.<sup>31</sup>

Looking at the concept of political socialization more closely, the similarity with the concepts of national and nationalist education is obvious. According to R. Levin,

socialization in its most general sense is the acquisition of dispositions toward behavior that is positively valued by a group, and the elimination of dispositions toward behavior that is disvalued by a group . . . . Within this general process, political socialization is the acquisition by an individual of behavioral dispositions relevant to political groups, political systems, political processes. Examples of the kinds of behavioral dispositions included are: attitudes concerning allocation of authority, the legitimacy of a regime, and political participation patterns of decision-making and deference; images of political leaders and foreign nations; groups loyalties, antagonisms, and stereotypes . . . . It is assumed that the degree of relevance of a kind of behavior to politics varies with the nature of the political system under study and the theoretical framework used . . . .<sup>32</sup>

There are certainly differences in the way in which the schools were asked to contribute to the existing political culture if one looks at the early nineteenth century and today's educational systems. The former has been labelled as parochial or subject political culture, as opposed to the activist, participatory approach to political education in modern societies.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, there seems to be more emphasis on behavioural dispositions in modern political-socialization theory,

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<sup>31</sup>Byron G. Massialas (ed.), Political Youth, Traditional Schools (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc., 1972), p. xi.

<sup>32</sup>Robert Levin, "Political Socialization and Cultural Change" in Clifford Gurtz (ed.), Old Societies and New States (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1963), p. 281.

<sup>33</sup>Massialas, Political Youth, p. 4.



whereas the concepts of national and nationalist education were more deeply founded in philosophical or anthropological reflections. These differences notwithstanding, national (and nationalist) education was also dependent upon the internalization of political values which, in turn, would result in new 'behavioral dispositions'.

The applicability of the concept of political socialization can, finally, also be confirmed by listing the major ways in which modern education is expected to relate to the political system:

- (1) through the political socialization of children and youth, e.g. the process of developing cognitive understanding and attitudes toward the political world;
- (2) through the selection, recruitment, and training of political leaders, e.g. the mechanism for the screening and the political training of those who will join the country's elite;
- (3) through politically integrating a community or society, and bringing about ethnic unification among different people occupying a given territory; and
- (4) through the organization of special interest or pressure groups, such as teacher or student organizations, which attempt to influence political decisions and demand certain things from the system.<sup>34</sup>

All of the features mentioned appeared to varying degrees and at various times also in the Grand Duchy of Posen. Especially the schools' supportive function, namely that "the schools seek to socialize the children to accept the political norms of their culture and to perform those political acts . . . which are within the established political

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<sup>34</sup>Massialas, Political Youth, p. 2.



traditions"<sup>35</sup> was most pronounced in the province's secondary schools.

#### (h) Major Subdivisions of the 1815-1850 Period

A number of political events during the 35-year period largely determined changes in the administration and thereby in the political climate of the Grand Duchy. The following subdivision will attempt to relate those marking-points in the history of the province to shifts in educational policies, as far as the secondary schools were concerned. But since those developments will form part of the following chapters, the present discussion will just try to justify why the respective years have been singled out for being of major importance.

#### The Preliminary Period 1772-1815

As shown on the map below, Prussia's territorial gains in the First Polish Partition established the connection between Prussia proper and her outlying province, East Prussia. Some 860,000 new subjects were thus incorporated into the Prussia state. Most of the later Grand Duchy, however, came under Prussian rule in the course of the Second Partition. This time, the connection between the south-western border of East Prussia, and the south-eastern border of Silesia was accomplished; another 1,130,000 Poles became Prussian subjects. The Third Partition, extending the Prussian state beyond Warsaw, brought the incorporation of an additional one million Poles into the monarchy.

The significance of this preliminary period for educational developments was first of all the establishment of the Commission for National Education in 1773. As will be discussed later on in greater

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<sup>35</sup> Byron G. Massialas, Education and the Political System (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 206-07.





detail, education was considered to be of major significance for the political reconstruction of the country. Even more strongly pronounced was the attempt of reviving the Polish state in the May-Third Constitution of 1791. Although neither the Commission for National Education nor the 1791-Constitution could prevent the annihilation of the Polish state, both events made their influence felt even after 1815.



Map #1: Prussia's Territorial Gains in the Polish Partitions

After Prussia's defeat and the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, Prussia lost most of her gains to the Duchy of Warsaw, as shown on the next map. However, since the fate of the Duchy was closely linked to Napoleonic rule, this re-established Polish 'state' existed only as long as the French Emperor was victorious. But as far as education was





Map #2: The Duchy of Warsaw, 1807-1815

concerned, the ideas of the aforementioned Commission for National Education were revitalized to some extent, and some educational changes could be effected during the brief existence of the semi-independent state.

The territorial re-distribution after Napoleon's defeat once more allotted the Posen-region to Prussia in 1815. As can be seen on the next map, only that part of the country was returned to Prussia, which had formed the major share in the Second Polish partition. The Prussian state was thereby 'rounded-off' in the east, and it was the strategic location of the Grand Duchy as the 'sinew' between East Prussia and Silesia that in later years formed one of the main arguments for a lasting incorporation of the province into the Prussian state.





Map #3: The Grand Duchy of Posen, 1815-1918

#### The First Period 1815-1830

Among all the formerly Polish territories that had been occupied by Prussia, the Grand Duchy was distinguished by a slightly privileged position because some of the stipulations of the Vienna agreement concerning Poland showed at least token concern for maintaining a Polish identity. All the Poles, whether placed under Russian, Prussian, or Austrian rule, were promised national representation and national institutions, regulated according to the considerations that the respective governments would judge expedient and proper to grant





them.<sup>36</sup> As far as Prussia was concerned, the reforms initiated by Stein and Hardenberg were also to be applied to the newly acquired territory; the state would thereby encourage the further development of Polish communities, e.g. through self-administration, as an integral part of the monarchy.<sup>37</sup> Prince Radziwill was appointed General Governor (Statthalter), and his German counterpart, the President-in-Chief (Oberpraesident) Zerboni di Sposetti<sup>38</sup>, had been designated for his position by the Prussian Chancellor Hardenberg. Zerboni had been known as being sympathetic to the Polish population and was expected to implement a policy of detente. His resignation in 1824 coincided with a change in Prussian policies, when the influence of the post-1815 reformers had come to an end. The year 1824 marked major changes not only in the Grand Duchy. In the Ministry of Education, as well, new policies began to emerge which affected Prussian secondary schools considerably. A subdivision of the first period into the years from 1815 to 1824, and from 1825 to 1830 is therefore necessary when specific aspects will be examined.

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<sup>36</sup>The guarantee was signed after the British representative, Lord Castlereagh, had expressed the fear of further disturbances in Eastern Europe in his Circular Note of January 12, 1815. Hardenberg affirmed that for the East European peoples "national existence will be maintained free and unhampered, whatever political system their future would depend upon". See Martin Broszat, Zweihundert Jahre deutsche Polenpolitik (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972), pp. 79-84.

<sup>37</sup>For a discussion of vom Stein's attitude towards the Polish people, see Harry Kenneth Rosenthal, German and Pole. National Conflict and Modern Myth (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), pp. 10-13. See also the letter of vom Stein to Alexander I, of October 6, 1807, as quoted in J.R. Seeley, Life and Times of Stein. 3 Vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1878), Vol. III, pp. 252-54.

<sup>38</sup>For a characterization of Zerboni di Sposetti, see Chapter Eight, "The Influence of the Leading Administrators".





Despite a fair degree of cooperation between the Prussian government and the wealthier aristocrats, the minor gentry, groups of the townspeople, part of the clergy and of the intelligentsia refused to accept Prussian rule. As a result, hundreds of secret societies for the promotion of patriotism met all over Poland.<sup>39</sup>

#### The Second Period 1831-1840

The uprising in the Kingdom of Poland in 1830-31 had a definite impact on the policies pursued in the Grand Duchy of Posen. Whereas the major European powers intervened diplomatically on behalf of the Poles, Prussia advised the Polish insurgents to surrender. When the Russian Army started its offensive in 1831, Frederick William III openly supported the Russian cause despite widespread opposition from the German public and Prussian military leaders.

Concerning the administration of the province, the new President-in-Chief appointed in 1830 was E. Flottwell. He decisively shaped the region's history for the next decade, and the thrust of his objectives is best captured in his memorandum issued at the end of his term of office:

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<sup>39</sup> According to an anonymous author of an article in Die Gegenwart, Vol. 2 (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1849), pp. 100-55, an association modelled after the brotherhood of the Freemasons was established in 1818. The declared aim of the Nationale Freimaurerei (National Freemasons) was the liberation of the country. Whereas the lodges in the Kingdom of Poland opted for a constitutional monarchy, the ones located in the Grand Duchy rejected the Prussian monarch and were politically more radical. They eventually formed a group called Sensenmaenner (Scythemen). After the Freemasons were declared illegal, the movement was even more efficiently organized under the name of Carbonarism, dedicated to the memory of Kosciuszko. A further group were the Templers who had connections to the students of Wilna-University. Here the secret corporations, like the Promienisten, the Philareten, and the Philomathen were active until the late 1820's.



During the time when I was entrusted with the administration of the province, I understood my responsibility as follows: To promote and to solidify the close connection of the province with the Prussian state by gradually removing those tendencies, customs, and proclivities among the Polish inhabitants, that were opposed to such a connection; on the other hand, the elements of German life regarding material and spiritual aspects were to be extended throughout the province. As a result, the complete union of the two nationalities would, then, be finally desired due to the decisive preponderance of the German culture . . . .<sup>40</sup>

The administrative measures introduced during the Flottwell-era effectively curbed the political influence of the Polish aristocracy. On the other hand, Prusso-German influence were reinforced, and here the expansion and promotion of educational facilities became a major instrument.

A salient movement for the improvement of education was the assistance-programme introduced by the physician Karl (Carol) Marcinkowski. Flottwell initially favoured this project, obviously unaware of the underlying national objectives of the Marcinkowski Association, as it was later called. Briefly before the end of the Flottwell-years, this movement found widespread support from almost all Polish societal groups, most of all, however, from the Catholic Church.

### The Third Period 1841-1850

A change in the official attitude towards the Polish population emerged with the accession to the throne of Frederick William IV in 1840. He was prepared to re-establish certain rights of the Poles, as long as no further attempts at overthrowing the political order were made. Most importantly, Flottwell was transferred to another province,

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<sup>40</sup>Quoted in Kurt Wessely, Pangermanismus (Linz a.d. Donau: Zeitgeschichte Verlag Ernst Seidl, 1938), pp. 172-73.



and replaced by Count Arnim-Boitzenburg. His new policy towards the Polish population is best captured in the statement that

I, therefore, suggest to avoid everything that might give the appearance of eliminating or hindering the Polish element, when we attempt to acquaint the Polish subjects with the German language, with education and with science. Whatever is intended to strengthen the German element of the province, it will not be imposed.<sup>41</sup>

A further measure that impinged upon education in the Grand Duchy was the appointment of Eichhorn as the new Minister of Education in 1840. Although his predecessor, von Altenstein, had once belonged to the group of the reformers, his political influence had sharply declined. The new minister was therefore expected to provide education with new incentives.

The period of renewed cooperation between the Prussian government and the Polish aristocracy was terminated by the abortive uprising in 1846. Relations between the Polish and the German segments of the Grand Duchy's population deteriorated rapidly, and, after slight improvements in the wake of the 1848-revolution in Berlin, culminated in a civil war between the two nationalities. After the uprising had been crushed, and after the suggested political reorganization of the Grand Duchy into a German and a Polish part had been abandoned, the Prussian Constitution of 1850 fully integrated the province into the Prussian state, ending the special status of the Grand Duchy.

In education, the political events were fully reflected in changing legislations, political unrest in the schools, and rapid changes

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<sup>41</sup>Denkschrift Arnim-Boitzenburgs, of June 30, 1841, quoted in Broszat, Deutsche Polenpolitik, p. 105.





in the position of the Minister of Education: Eichhorn was replaced by Schwerin in 1848, and after Rodbertus had held this position for a few weeks, von Ladenberg was appointed. He was in charge of education from 1848 until 1850.

(i) Demographic Changes in the Grand Duchy

Various factors in the history of the later Grand Duchy had resulted in a racial mixture even before the Polish Partitions. Thus, in 1815 the following distribution existed:<sup>42</sup>

Table 1:

| Year    | Total     | Protestants     | Catholics       | Jews          |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1815/16 | 789,999   | 218,393 (27.6%) | 521,217 (66.0%) | 50,589 (6.4%) |
| 1825    | 1,031,925 | 289,708 (28.0%) | 677,054 (65.6%) | 65,163 (6.3%) |
| 1834/35 | 1,139,555 | 336,626 (29.5%) | 729,110 (64.0%) | 73,819 (6.5%) |
| 1846    | 1,350,918 | 407,227 (30.1%) | 862,382 (63.8%) | 81,309 (6.1%) |

As the official census taken in 1817 explained in more detail,

the Roman Catholics, normally of Polish descent, form somewhat less than two thirds, or exactly 15/23 of the total population. The Protestants, normally of German descent, represent almost 2/7, i.e., not quite one third of the total number. They mostly came from Silesia from where they emigrated during the Thirty-Years' War because of religious suppression, and they subsequently founded or at least populated many of the totally German towns along the Silesian border; another part of the Protestants consists of colonists who arrived here either in Polish times to work on the large estates, or when under the Prussian government the Netze-marches were cultivated; a third portion immigrated after 1793 from other parts of Germany . . . .<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup>Quoted in Broszat, Deutsche Polenpolitik, p. 144.

<sup>43</sup>Uebersicht der Bodenflaeche und Bevoelkerung des Preussischen Staats (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1819), p. 49.



The Grand Duchy was composed of two districts, each with its own regional administration. They differed in population-figures as well as in ethnic composition:<sup>44</sup>

Table 2:

| District | Total   | Protestants     | Catholics       | Jews          |
|----------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Posen    | 584,890 | 150,481 (25.7%) | 396,835 (67.8%) | 37,547 (6.4%) |
| Bromberg | 262,910 | 91,692 (34.9%)  | 156,196 (59.4%) | 15,021 (5.7%) |

The District of Posen was subdivided into 17 counties (Landkreise); their location and ethnic gravity are shown on the map below.<sup>45</sup>

Table 3:

| No. | County     | Population | No. | County   | Population |
|-----|------------|------------|-----|----------|------------|
| 1   | Posen      | 57,152     | 10  | Bomst    | 33,530     |
| 2   | Kroebe     | 52,825     | 11  | Obornik  | 30,170     |
| 3   | Fraustadt  | 45,520     | 12  | Buk      | 30,070     |
| 4   | Krotoschin | 41,852     | 13  | Samter   | 28,965     |
| 5   | Pleschen   | 36,435     | 14  | Schrodda | 28,717     |
| 6   | Schildberg | 35,773     | 15  | Meseritz | 28,068     |
| 7   | Kosten     | 35,264     | 16  | Birnbaum | 26,923     |
| 8   | Adelnau    | 35,116     | 17  | Wreschen | 23,231     |
| 9   | Schrimm    | 34,686     |     |          |            |

The District of Bromberg consisted of 9 counties only:

|   |        |        |   |            |        |
|---|--------|--------|---|------------|--------|
| 1 | Gnesen | 37,749 | 6 | Chodziesen | 27,699 |
|---|--------|--------|---|------------|--------|

<sup>44</sup> Bodenflaeche und Bevoelkerung des Preussischen Staats, p. 51.

<sup>45</sup> Hoffmann, Beitraege zur Statistik des Preussischen Staats (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1821), pp. 64-70.



|   |             |        |   |         |        |
|---|-------------|--------|---|---------|--------|
| 2 | Inowraclaw  | 36,787 | 7 | Wirsitz | 27,339 |
| 3 | Bromberg    | 33,962 | 8 | Schubin | 27,335 |
| 4 | Tscharnikau | 33,072 | 9 | Mogilno | 25,323 |
| 5 | Wongrowitz  | 29,973 |   |         |        |

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Map #4: Counties of the Districts of Posen and Bromberg

A predominantly Polish population, namely 182,990 as compared to only 33,199 Protestants lived in the most eastern counties, i.e., Inowraclaw, Mogilno, Gnesen, Peisern (Wreschen), Schrodda, Adelnau and Schildberg. An equal number of Protestants and Catholics (158,085 and 176,504



respectively) populated the counties of Bromberg, Wirsitz, Chodziesen, Tscharnikau, Obornik, Meseritz, Bomst, Fraustadt, and Kroebe. Approximately twenty percent of the people living in the province's centre were German.<sup>46</sup>

It is interesting to note that of the eight schools to be discussed in the present study, four were located in counties with a fair number of Germans, namely Bromberg, Fraustadt (Lissa), Meseritz, and Krotoschin. Only two schools were established in 'Polish' counties, namely in Tremessen and Ostrowo; two gymnasias were located in the city of Posen.

As far as population-growth during the 1815-1850 period is concerned, an overall increase of 71 percent occurred. The increase among Protestants was greatest with 87 percent, as compared to 65 percent among Catholics. The respective figure for the Jewish population was 61 percent. Whereas the increase among Catholics and Jews can be explained by high birth-rates, the Protestant-figure can best be attributed to immigration from other Prussian provinces or to transfers of administrative personnel.

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<sup>46</sup>The counties mentioned here were listed in the 1817-statistics. The map has been completed on the basis of Christian Meyer, Geschichte der Provinz Posen (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891). With regard to the 1848-plans for the province's reorganization, Meyer mentioned the counties of Kosten, Pleschen, and Schrimm as being strongly Polish. Conversely, the counties of Birnbaum, Meseritz, Bomst, Fraustadt, Samter, Buk, parts of Obornik, but also some counties in the District of Bromberg declared themselves to be German. If those ethnic distributions existed in 1848, about the same can be assumed for 1817; probably the 'Polishness' was even greater in 1817. Finally, I. Berger, Die preussische Verwaltung des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg (1815-1847) (Cologne: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), p. 143 gives figures for 1847, according to which the counties of Chodziesen and Tscharnikau had 82% Germans and 18% Poles; Bromberg, Schubin, and Wirsitz had 60% Germans and 40% Poles; Inowracław had 27% Germans and 67% Poles; Mogilno, Gnesen, and Wongrowitz had 17% Germans and 83% Poles. No specific figures could be secured for the county of Posen. The city itself had presumably a German majority.





## CHAPTER TWO

### Polish and Prussian Ideas on Secondary Education Before 1815

#### (a) The Polish Commission of National Education

Polish education, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was virtually the monopoly of the Jesuit order. The stagnation of cultural life, as compared to the rise and the expansion of spiritual and material advances in Western Europe, has often been attributed, at least to some degree, to the Jesuits' social and educational philosophies. As Woloszynski describes the state of education in the Saxon Era (1697-1763), "it was almost exclusively controlled by religious orders . . . and it catered basically for the needs of the gentry, and partly the townspeople. Only very few peasant children could attend the poorly equipped parish schools where they were taught the rudiments of the art of writing, reading, and arithmetic. Schools of all kinds and levels, including the two universities in Cracow and Wilno, professed quite obsolete scientific and educational theories".<sup>1</sup> This notwithstanding, demands for socio-political reforms, including education, arose about 1733, and for the first time in Polish history, a national system of education

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<sup>1</sup>Ryszard W. Woloszynski, "World's First Education Ministry", in Polish Perspectives, Vol. XVI, No. 10, October 1973, p. 16.



was called for.<sup>2</sup>

Under the impact of the Enlightenment, the Pious Fathers introduced new educational institutions, and here S. Konarski stands out as the reformer of the colleges that had been the domain of this religious group. He founded the Collegium Nobilium in 1740 in emulation of the schools for knights as they existed in other European countries. Of the 42 students to be admitted every year, one half had to be Polish. A national component was introduced in restricting the use of Latin and, instead, emphasizing the Polish language. Moreover, the syllabus included modern rationalist philosophy, natural sciences--and here notably physics--, Polish and world history, geography, mathematics, geometry, economics, and both international and home law.<sup>3</sup> The move towards secularization and national rather than international orientations was intensified under the reign of the new king, August Poniatowski, who in 1765 founded the School for Knights in Warsaw. The students came mainly from the lower gentry. The patriotic bent of the 'reforms' was reinforced by the decision of the Sejm (Parliament) in 1773 to set up a Commission of National Education for the intellectual revival of the country that had just suffered its first partition. Financing of the Commission's work was secured through the confiscation of the

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<sup>2</sup>W. Feldman, Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (Osnabrueck: Otto Zeller, 1964), p. 15, refers to the demands made by the national party, to secure Poland's emancipation from foreign, destructive influences. The idea was in accordance with S. Leszcynski's claims and proposals expressed in his book Glos Wolny (1733).

<sup>3</sup>Ministry of Education, Education in Poland (Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1974), p. 31.



property and the schools of the Jesuit Order which had been banned the same year. The establishment of the Society for Elementary Textbooks in 1775 indicated the educational outlook of the Commission, in that a number of international scholars were invited to provide texts for instructional purposes.

The objective of the Commission was to build up a uniform system of education covering all stages, from elementary to higher education. Especially at the secondary level, a turn away from a linguistic approach and an emphasis on mathematics and the natural sciences appears to have been the major characteristic of the reform, next to the national thrust of the reformers. Organizationally, two Principal Schools, i.e., the universities of Cracow and Wilno, were charged with the training of teachers for the entire system. For instance, in 1780 Cracow University established a school for the training of secondary teachers, whose curriculum provided for extensive practice in teaching. On the next level, higher secondary schools, so-called 'divisional schools', offered a six-to-seven years' course, and supervised the lower secondary, or 'subdivisional' schools as well as the parish schools. According to Woloszynski, there were some eighty secondary schools of various types, and they instructed about 40,000 to 60,000 students aged 11 to 17.<sup>5</sup> The Swiss astronomer/mathematician Bernoulli is quoted as having assessed the Commission's work as follows:

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<sup>4</sup>Education in Poland, pp. 31-32.

<sup>5</sup>Woloszynski, "Education Ministry", p. 17.





Nothing could bring greater fame to the present government than that in its time there was created an institution the like of which no other countries possess, though how badly need it! In a country which has suffered such neglect in learning such an institution is more useful than all the academies of learning put together. It considers the common good as its most important goal, and is stubbornly driving towards it.<sup>6</sup>

The extent to which the educational reforms reached into the more remote corners of the country, is difficult to say, especially with regard to elementary education. The claim made, namely that "the Commission turned in particular to questions of elementary education at the parish schools" where "the new syllabus combined elementary instruction with the acquisition of vocational skills in farming, the crafts and commerce"<sup>7</sup> certainly testifies to the ambitious and progressive planning of the reformers. But there is room for doubts as to the actual effects of the reforms on the elementary level. And although one can sympathize with Halecki's praise that in the wake of the Commission's work "a changed . . . intellectual atmosphere"<sup>8</sup> pervaded the country, Frankel's assessment seems to be more realistic:

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<sup>6</sup>Quoted by Woloszynski, "Education Ministry", p. 19. The author also mentions the deep appreciation of the Polish educational reforms by J.H. Formey, then Secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, who remarked in 1775, "I can assure you in all candour that with regard to sciences, their arrangement and order, I have seen nothing more perfect than your announcement. And for this reason at the last session I submitted this announcement to our Berlin Academy. I will also see to it that its copies are published in the best known periodical literary journals".

<sup>7</sup>Education in Poland, p. 32.

<sup>8</sup>Oskar Halecki, Borderlands of Western Civilization (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952), p. 267.



Firstly, those reforms replaced the 'Catholic' language of Latin by Polish as the language of instruction in higher education, and secondly, the modernization of instructional methods begun by the Commission "produced groups of well-educated nobles, relatively free from medieval superstition".<sup>9</sup> The reason for this sobering note is the relatively short time-span during which the Commission could effect changes. Even before the second and third partitions, the May-Third Constitution of 1791 aroused suspicions among the three partitioning powers, and the added civil strife among the Polish nobility combined to stifle many of the Commission's activities.

A brief revival of the idea of national education occurred between 1807 and 1815. The Chamber of Education, under the direction of S. Potocki, drafted a school act that demanded a school to be established in every village, townlet or town. Attendance was made compulsory by the stipulation that 'everybody is under the obligation to send his children to school.' The schools were to be supported by 'school societies' on a local level, rather than the state, and the controlling councils were to be composed of the local squire, the Catholic priest, clergymen of other denominations, the village head, and several elected representatives of the peasants or the urban citizens. Training institutes for elementary teachers were located in Lowicz and Poskra. The needs of the developing industry called for closer links between the schools and the larger society. It was particularly S. Staszic, an "illustrious scholar, organizer of

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<sup>9</sup>Henryk Frankel, Poland. The Struggle for Power, 1772-1939 (London: Lindsay Drummond Ltd., 1946), p. 27.



research work, and educationist" who laid the theoretical foundations for new curricula and organizational patterns, following his conviction that "knowledge and skills cannot prove useful unless they are put to public use in everyday practice."<sup>10</sup> Woloszynski's claim that the example established by the Commission determined much of what happened in education in the Russian-controlled Kingdom of Poland during the early nineteenth century, may go unchallenged. However, his contention that "the tradition of the Commission of National Education . . . lay at the roots of the school system in the Prussian zone . . ."<sup>11</sup> needs some qualifications; they will be provided in later parts of the study.

(b) The State of Secondary Schools in the Posen-Area before 1815

Of the eighty secondary schools mentioned by Woloszynski that allegedly existed after the Commission began its work, only a relatively small number seemed to have existed within the area of the later Grand Duchy. But since their organizational characteristics are only vaguely defined, there could have been a greater number of private or semi-private institutions the history of which was never recorded. Here one has to keep in mind that state-controlled education was in its very first beginnings, and private instruction at home or in still existing non-controlled private schools might still have accounted for a number of students, as the resistance of some groups of the aristocracy against a widening of educational facilities would

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<sup>10</sup> Education in Poland, pp. 33-34.

<sup>11</sup> Woloszynski, "Education Ministry", p. 20.



indicate. Moreover, if one accepts the figures given by Woloszynski, the average size of those eighty schools would have been between 500 and 750 students each, an aspect that suggests a certain degree of centralized administration. The relatively small population-figures of the major cities of 50,000 to 100,000 make it extremely unlikely that the aforementioned schools served local needs only, and the need to accomodate students from the 'hinterland' would for many students mean attending school away from home. To avoid the ill-effects of such a 'mass-education' would additionally suggest a fair amount of private tuition, and this argument can be strengthened by the fact that access to university did not require attendance of educational institutions supervised by the state.

A brief presentation of the secondary schools as they existed in the area before 1815, and as they are mentioned in the related literature, appears to be useful at this point. There was a variety of types, ranging from choir-schools, such as the ones at Tremessen and Pakosch, to language schools, such as the Szkola Glowna at Bromberg, to the department schools, such as the one in Posen. The interim stage between elementary and secondary schools in modern terminology was partly filled by the county-schools (Kreis-schulen), like the one in Fraustadt; however, since their status was never clearly defined, there was little consistency in the usage of this designation.

The oldest school in the area was the Gymnasium of Lissa, founded in 1555 by the Protestant Brethren-Union (Bruder-Unitaet); among its most renowned teachers and principals had been J.A. Comenius





who taught there from 1628 to 1658. Only 42 students attended the school in 1799, and also under the Warsaw-government (1807-1815) about the same enrolment was recorded. The official status as a gymnasium under Prussian auspices was awarded as late as 1821, when some 150 students attended the school.

Second in age was the Marien-Gymnasium in Posen, founded in 1573 as a Jesuit college. The Commission of National Education designated the school as a National School (Szkola narodowa) in 1773, and after the Second Partition it became a Royal Gymnasium in 1804, teaching Catholic as well as Protestant students. The next change was due under the French administration from 1807 to 1815, when the name was changed into Departmental School; although it retained its non-denominational character, the language of instruction was now Polish. Since the Marien-Gymnasium was apparently the only full-fledged secondary school in the area in which the plans of the Commission of National Education had been implemented, a few more comments on this school are warranted. Although the Prussian government in 1793 called some of the features of the Polish system of education 'exemplary', some modifications were deemed necessary as "required by the Prussian political order".<sup>12</sup> The major flaw of the Polish system was seen in the overly great diversity of the curriculum, making a coherent pattern of educational efforts almost impossible and leading to an encyclopedic kind of knowledge instead of a planned training of the intellect. The number of subjects was therefore

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<sup>12</sup> Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums, 1873, "Festrede zum 300-jährigen Jubiläum der Anstalt", p. 11.



reduced to the still impressive array of Latin, French, German, Polish, Greek, religion and ethics, physics, mathematics, science, technology, but also history and geography to varying degrees in the different grades. The more practical aspects of the Polish reforms were apparently still being accounted for, and particularly in the lower grades was instruction geared towards applicability of mathematical operations, and knowledge of physics for later professional life. The more scholarly approach prevailed in the upper grades, by, for example, introducing subjects such as rhetorics, poetics, philosophy, and encyclopedics.

But still, the nature of the school as blending the educational objectives of a practice-oriented 'burgher-school' and of a scholarly institution prevented, at least on the basis of later assessments, full acceptance of the school as a 'genuine' gymnasium. The process of reorganization lasted for about ten years, until the new school was opened for 154 students, instructed by twelve teachers. The school flourished and the number of students rose to more than 200 after the first year. Plans to separate the practice-oriented branch of the school from the scholarly, and to erect an entirely new building for the latter, were nullified by the collapse of Prussian rule in 1806. As Departmental School (1809-15), a curricular re-orientation was deemed necessary, and subjects such as economics, technology, state and natural law, were even added and thereby the more practical approach of secondary education restored. After enrolment had dropped considerably in the course of the change of government, it was up to 300 in 1812, and to 480 in 1815.



The school in Bromberg had also begun as a Jesuit college, and when the city came under Prussian rule in 1772, Frederick II suggested to upgrade the institution into a gymnasium which, however, did not materialize. On the contrary, under the French administration the school was even closed in 1808 and re-organized as a county-school.

Another school that had been established by the Jesuits in 1722 was the one at Fraustadt. Under the Prussian government, it was denied the status of a secondary school in 1793. Only after the region came under the Warsaw-government was it officially designated as a county-school.

As mentioned before, a choir-school existed in Tremessen (Trzemeszno), founded in 1773, presumably as one of the National Schools. The curriculum offered, comprising subjects such as Latin, Polish, German, mathematics, geography, history, science, ethics and religion, and arts, was very similar to the one mentioned in the context of the Marien-Gymnasium; it must have been very attractive, since the enrolment was more than 300 in the early years. After 1804 there followed a rapid decline, and by 1808 ten students attended the school. Some ground could be regained before 1815, although the official status was only that of a county-school.

In the discussion of Polish plans for a national education, no specific reference could be found concerning the organizational principles of elementary schooling. There is only the suggestion that local control was exercised, and some input with respect to curricular guidelines and the establishment of teacher-training facilities was provided by the Commission. From the information available





one is tempted to assume that the post 1773-reforms in education had their emphasis on secondary schools, and considerably less attention was given to the elementary sub-structure, although the plans clearly included elementary education in the reform policies. The criticism voiced by Prussian officials with respect to elementary schools was partially based on the Prussian objective of providing elementary education to the greatest possible degree, since thereby the socio-political aims of the state could most efficiently be conveyed to the majority of the population. This contention can be supported by the following figures: In 1815, there existed a total of 254 elementary schools in the District of Posen, as compared to 289 in the District of Bromberg.<sup>13</sup> The former had traditionally been more populous, having more than twice the population of the latter. There is good reason to assume that the better equipment of the District of Bromberg with elementary schools can be attributed to the fact that this region had been under Prussian administration since 1772, and it was particularly under the reign of Frederick II that a new building-programme for elementary schools had been initiated.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, a greater number of secondary institutions could be found in the area of the later District of Posen that had come under Prussian rule only in 1793.

In outlining some of the educational and political principles

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<sup>13</sup> Wilhelm Bock, "Unterrichtswesen", in Deutscher Ostmarkenverein (ed.), Die Deutsche Ostmark (Berlin: Oskar Eulitz Verlag, 1913), p. 499. The same figures are mentioned in Meyer's Geschichte der Provinz Posen.

<sup>14</sup> Bock, "Unterrichtswesen", p. 499.



underlying Prussian education at about the same time, the differences between Polish and Prussian conceptions will now be brought into focus more clearly.

(c) The Prussian Concept of Secondary Education Before 1815

Public education was developed in Prussia during the second half of the eighteenth century. An earlier beginning during the reign of Frederick William I (1713-40) had already laid some of the foundations, and elementary schools were more generally established, often meeting with strong resistance by the local gentry. At about the same time, rudimentary forms of teacher-training, so-called seminaries, were introduced for the elementary level. A more comprehensive legislation followed under Frederick II in form of the Landschulreglement (General Ordinance for County-Schools) in 1763.

The following half-century has repeatedly been called the 'pedagogic era', i.e., education emerged as a field of scholarly debates and of experimentation, with many of the philosophical and anthropological foundations of modern education being provided at that time. Names like Rousseau, Kant, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart only indicate the various directions, but also represent almost innumerable educators who endeavoured to make education a central concept in social change. Only in recent years has the impact of the educational administration on the course of the reform-movement in Prussia been reassessed. As far as the years after 1810 are concerned, one may legitimately speak of a gradual domination of educational issues by administrative policies, by which the reforms were brought to a halt.

The educational reforms demanded by Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Humboldt, formed part of the previous discussion of 'national'



education. But as early as 1787 had the realization of the futility of educational reforms in the absence of the state's function as the initiator, supporter, or even the agent to carry the reform through, resulted in the call for state-involvement: Partial reforms had traditionally met with resistance from interest-groups. Also the idea that some uniformity should pervade the educational system, gearing it towards the interests of the state, introduced a new dimension into the relationship between the schools and the state.<sup>15</sup> However, existing organs of administration were ill-prepared for assuming the new responsibility of providing initiative and supervision. Since expertise in educational matters was recognized as being indispensable to efficient administration, the Oberschul-kollegium, i.e., a central office was established in 1787. But functioning under the principles of rationality and uniformity, the administrator began to subordinate the educator. Whereas the latter had aimed at "designing a pedagogy that was serving human dignity and freedom, enabling the individual to create a world of his own within his cultural environment",<sup>16</sup> the former sought to solve their task as they perceived it: To enable the citizen to perform his role by giving him the best possible instruction according to the needs of the respective occupation and his social status.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Karl-Ernst Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1974), p. 39.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted from W. Roessler, "Familie, Rollenverhalten und Eigenwelt in der pluralistischen Gesellschaft", in Manfred Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung auf die Bildungspolitik" in Bildung und Erziehung, 23. Jahrgang, Heft 1, Januar/Februar 1970, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup>Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung", p. 46.



Rationality was also understood in terms of austerity, as dictated by the strained financial situation of the Prussian state, particularly after the military defeat in 1806 and the Wars of Liberation. One measure was therefore to restrict the number of students in secondary as well as higher education. Not only would expenses be reduced, but the notorious unrest among students at universities suggested to limit access to the more prestigious positions in society to those whose conduct and attitudes deserved promotion of their abilities. Additionally, the limited number of vacancies in public offices, including parishes, implied the danger of an oversupply of discontented applicants. Restrictive policies concerning the establishment of secondary schools, but also the school-leaving certificate (Abitur) were additional measures of reducing the 'output' of the educational system.<sup>18</sup> The Cabinet Ordre of 1779 had already introduced unifying regulations for secondary schools, in that teachers had to be trained at universities or comparable state-seminaries. Since they acquired civil-servant status, they had to pass a severe state examination after a period of in-service training. The regulation concerning the Abitur or Certificate of Maturity of 1788, originally designed to determine the worthiness of students to receive stipends during their university-years, now became a prerequisite for admission to higher education. Thereby the purpose of securing uniformly high standards was served, and in "forcing the

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<sup>18</sup>Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung", pp. 49-53.





aristocracy into the exam",<sup>19</sup> a reformist note was struck to restrict the privileges of the same and open up the universities for students of more humble socio-economic status. The Abitur-Edikt of 1812 intensified those objectives. At the same time, the 'administrative' character of the examination was more strongly emphasized, not only with respect to the detailed procedures, but also was the Abitur made prerequisite for being admitted into the upper echelons of the civil service in general. Last but not least, foreign matriculation-certificates no longer permitted Prussian students to study at Prussian universities: they had to pass the Abitur.

The Oberschulkollegium was replaced in 1808 by the 'Section for Culture and Instruction' as part of the Ministry for the Interior, centralizing the educational administration to an even greater extent. Humboldt was its first head until 1810. In choosing a successor, Hardenberg did not follow Stein's advice to staff the educational administration with "men who know the state of sciences, of scholars, of educational institutions, and of the moral and spiritual needs of the nation".<sup>20</sup> Instead, he preferred Schuckmann, whose competence was in the area of finance, over Schleiermacher, as Stein had suggested. In this case the extent to which administrative considerations overruled educational concerns is obvious. Jeismann's contention that the result of this process of transformation was not a Humboldt-type gymnasium, but a 'Prussian gymnasium', reflecting all the strengths

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<sup>19</sup>Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "Gymnasium, Staat und Gesellschaft in Preussen" in Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht, Jahrgang 21, Heft 8, August 1970, p. 463.

<sup>20</sup>Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium, p. 341.



and weaknesses of the state,<sup>21</sup> can be substantiated by Heinemann's assessment:

The reorganization of the educational system, based on the utility of the individual for the purposes of the state, assigning to every citizen his specific place, at the same time exhibited the tendency of conditioning human abilities which assumed an antiquated character due to enforced continuity. The propensity of persistence within the administration here prevented the ongoing adaptation to the needs of a changing socio-cultural environment.<sup>22</sup>

As a result, only those schools that were willing to adhere to existing regulations, including the centrally prescribed curricula as well as the detailed examination procedures, were allowed to call themselves Gelehrtschulen (learned schools) and to prepare their students for the university. Reflecting the administration's socio-political orientation, a tripartite-system of education emerged instead of the reformer's envisaged unitary system: The differentiation into schools for the intellectual elite, i.e., the gymnasium, schools for the middle-class, i.e. burgher-schools, and schools for the 'lower estates', i.e., the common school, largely perpetuated existing class distinctions. By 1815, the previously existing variety of schools preparing for the university had been abolished, and the decree of October 15, 1812 allowed only those institutions that offered a nine-years' course of a classical orientation the designation as a 'gymnasium'. Preparatory schools, so-called Pro-Gymnasien, offered a seven-years' course, and since they followed the same curricula as the gymnasia, students could easily be transferred to the regular gymnasium.

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<sup>21</sup>Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium, p. 397.

<sup>22</sup>Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung", p. 57.



The middle level existed of Kreisschulen (county-schools) and Stadt-schulen (city-schools), offering a six-years' programme that prepared students for non-academic professions. Only in 1832 was the designation of Hoehere Buergerschulen oder Realschulen introduced.<sup>23</sup>

Despite Titze's claim that German educational history since the late Middle Ages was greatly shaped by the two parallel movements of secularization and utilitarianism,<sup>24</sup> state-controlled and state-administered education in Prussia of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not 'secular' in the modern meaning of the term. Instead, the proverbial unity of 'Throne and Altar' signified a considerable role for religious instruction in the schools. Not only was the administrative link between education and religion continued far into the twentieth century, but most of the teachers in secondary schools throughout the eighteenth century had been trained theologians, and it was only under the influence of Heyne and Wolf that teachers for the gymnasia began to form a profession of its own rights.

Economic considerations had, for example, determined the establishment of early forms of the Realschule and the Hoehere Buergerschule as institutions catering for students mainly from middle-class families who for various reasons were unable to attend the gymnasium. The course of studies at these schools was more practice

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<sup>23</sup>Detlef Mueller, "Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem" in Walther Ruegg and Otto Neuloh (eds.), Zur soziologischen Theorie und Analyse des 19. Jahrhunderts (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1971), pp. 227-28.

<sup>24</sup>Hartmut Titze, Die Politisierung der Erziehung (Frankfurt: Athenaeum Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973), pp. 12-41.





oriented, preparing students mainly for trade and commerce, but also for the medium levels of local, regional, or state administration. In all fairness, however, it needs to be said that by the middle of the nineteenth century the Realschule had gradually developed into an institution that could challenge the dominating position of the Gymnasium for university-preparatory studies. But, as mentioned before, by 1815 the gymnasium was the prototype of secondary education, offering an entirely different educational philosophy and programme. Although the rationalistic bent introduced by the administrators coloured much of the schools' rationale, the neo-humanistic principles, with their emphasis on classical studies, dominated the scene. In F.A. Wolf's view, they were indispensable for the attainment of humanitas, i.e., the "fostering of genuinely humane education and the enhancement of all the intellectual and emotional powers towards the beautiful harmony of the inner and outer human being".<sup>25</sup>

Wolf has been called the father of classical philology in the modern sense, and his seminaries at Halle University had become the centre for humanistic studies. But also the philosophical idealism of Kant with its strong reliance on man's ethical powers and his quest for purity, with the preponderance of the mind and the spiritual over nature and the natural, left their imprints on the curricula of the gymnasium.

The new concept of the gymnasium, as it replaced the former,

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<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Hermann Weimer and Heinz Weimer, Geschichte der Paedagogik (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958), p. 106.



post-medieval 'school for scholars' with its emphasis on the liberal arts and its universalistic, cosmopolitan orientation, provided an instrument for the state to interfere with, and to direct socio-political change as it emerged with increasing democratization and industrialization. As Jeismann summarizes,

the gradual perfection and solidification of the state organization for education; the step-by-step implementation of clearly defined types of schools and their relationship to one another throughout the country; the increasingly accepted regulations regarding curricula and examinations, qualifications, and the financial and legal administration of the schools within half a century; all these provided a basic scheme that could be considered a rough blueprint that was founded not in the old societal structure determined by birth, but on new social requirements.<sup>26</sup>

Thus the gymnasium as it existed in 1815 was a well-defined institution with uniform instructional standards. Originally a ten-years' programme had been prescribed, but was then reduced to nine years. It was to be completed in six subsequent grades, designated Sexta, Quinta, Quarta, Tertia, Secunda, and Prima, and whereas the first three grades lasted one year each, the last three comprised two years each; in the original conception, Prima had included three years of study. The schedule below shows the distribution of the subjects taught (for the ten-year model):

| Subject           | Sexta | Quinta | Quarta | Tertia | Secunda | Prima | Total |
|-------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|-------|-------|
| Latin             | 6     | 6      | 8      | 8      | 8       | 8     | 76    |
| Greek             | -     | -      | 5      | 5      | 7       | 7     | 50    |
| German            | 6     | 6      | 4      | 4      | 4       | 4     | 44    |
| Mathematics       | 6     | 6      | 6      | 6      | 6       | 6     | 60    |
| Natural Sciences  | 2     | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2       | 2     | 20    |
| History/Geography | 3     | 3      | 3      | 3      | 3       | 3     | 30    |
| Religion          | 2     | 2      | 2      | 2      | 2       | 2     | 20    |
| Drawing           | 3     | 3      | 2      | 2      | -       | -     | 10    |
| Writing           | 4     | 4      | -      | -      | -       | -     | 8     |

<sup>26</sup>Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium, p. 22.



The suggested level of achievement for the individual subjects was extremely high; F.A. Wolf who had been asked to state his opinion on the respective regulations, mockingly remarked that in the whole city of Berlin would he have difficulties in finding a dozen persons of the most highly educated sort, who would meet the standards proposed.<sup>27</sup>

As has been mentioned previously, the overall objective of the reformers, from Fichte to Humboldt and Schleiermacher, had been to establish a national education system that would unify the previously semi-independent levels of educational institutions, from elementary through to higher education. This national thrust was still expressed in Suevern's memorandum of 1817:

Every state assumes an educational function for its citizens by means of its constitution, legislation, and administration. It becomes, so to speak, an educational institution in general terms, in that through whatever measures are taken, the state fosters a certain direction and a specific spiritual attitude and ideology among its subjects. Legislators who were aware of this situation and thus envisaged a clearly defined goal towards which the citizens ought to be directed, realized at the same time that such a national education in general had to be grounded in a national education of the young, and that the overall political system had to be reflected in the educational system . . . . The latter becomes all the more important and the more promising for the future, the freer it is held from any one-sided mechanic squeeze and conditioning, and the more it is directed at the free development of national powers, which, in principle, is nothing but the general human development within the framework of nationality.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For a detailed analysis of the instructional objectives, cf. Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 1921), Vol. 2, p. 281.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted from "Die Gesetzgebung auf dem Gebiet des Unterrichtswesen in Preussen von 1817-1869" in Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts, Vol. 2, pp. 299-301.



In, finally, suggesting that it was within the Prussian state that those principles could be realized and that thereby a paradigm for reforms in other German states would be established, all the ideas of the early nineteenth century appear to be reflected at least to some degree in the proposed new legislation. Suevern's draft was never incorporated into later legislations; the previously discussed changes in the administrative structure, marking the changing political and social climate in post-1815 Prussia, also turned against Suevern, and in 1824 he was removed from the Ministry of Education.<sup>29</sup> In this way, the reform-movement that had begun in 1806, suffered a decisive set-back: Politically, the restorative forces within the Prussian government could successfully stop the democratizing and liberalizing reform efforts in education, and here especially on the secondary level; socially, the newly conceptualized gymnasium in its emphasis on individual intellectual achievement at the expense of societal considerations, was gradually turned into an institution for future academic elites, rather than the cap-stone of a unitary system. Economically, despite the initially intended generality of studies in the sense of a liberating, humanistic education, certain professional interests, aiming at the perpetuation of existing opportunity structures, began to influence the direction of curricular policies: Since the Abitur had become the prerequisite for higher education, professional groups, such as philologists, lawyers, physicians, etc. could make their demands on the content of the curricula. The most conspicuous interest-group, however, was the

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<sup>29</sup>Titze, Politisierung der Erziehung, pp. 127-28.





state itself in that the recruitment of the ranks of its administration relied more and more heavily on the graduates of the gymnasium.

A tentative comparison of the educational situation in the area under discussion in 1815 on the basis of the information available has of necessity to be carefully conducted. Even by the relative abundance of studies on Prussian education, providing a much more detailed analysis of its strengths and weaknesses, as compared to the information available for Polish education in and before 1815, a bias could be established. Moreover, the vicissitudes of the political fate of this area since the mid-eighteenth century work against a fair comparability of the two educational systems. For all these reasons, to stress that the following conclusions do not imply valuative judgements, appears to be necessary.

(d) Comparative Assessment of Polish and Prussian Ideas on Secondary Education

The commonality of both systems was that historical circumstances had placed both countries in similar situations: Both had experienced 'defeat' at the hands of an external enemy, and the means by which education was expected to contribute to the liberation of the country was the emphasis on nationality as the common focus for all social groups. In terms of the previously introduced stipulative definition of nationalism, both countries thus adapted education to nationalist objectives. The advocated national unity implied a tearing down of social barriers, and secondary institutions in education that had traditionally served the social elite of the respective country were to be opened up to segments of the society who had hitherto been neglected in terms of educational opportunities.



Thereby a unitary system appears to have been the underlying organizational principle not only in the Prussian reforms, but presumably also of the Commission of National Education and its successor, the Chamber of Education in the Duchy of Warsaw. But whereas Prussia's military and political influence and power was restored in 1815, Poland had ceased to exist; and while the Prussian reforms were thereby given a chance to prove their efficacy, the Polish reforms were refused to prove their worth as became obvious after 1815; only in the Kingdom of Poland did the reforms survive to some extent until 1830/31.

A second aspect for comparison is the degree of centralization. There can be no doubt that Prussian educational reforms have to be seen as part of the reforms initiated by the Minister von Stein, and continued by Hardenberg, and a considerable degree of centralized administration formed one salient characteristic of those reforms. Some centralization appears to have been operative in the hierarchical structuring of the Polish system of education after 1773; whether or not this move was part of an overall attempt at centralization coming out of the political revival in the years of the Polish Partitions, would require additional information. One principle determining Prussian administration was that no regional disparities should be allowed to exist, but although this principle had the potential of benefiting the more 'backward' regions of the state, it proved to be detrimental to Polish national aspirations after 1815, as will be discussed later in the study.

The underlying philosophy of education is a third factor



that can be compared. Greater utilitarianism appears to have been at the bottom of the Polish reforms, i.e., the curriculum of the secondary schools displayed a stronger reliance on subjects that were of more immediate value in terms of applicability. Conversely, Prussian classical humanism aimed at the full development of the individual's intellectual and, to a lesser degree, emotional powers, and here the classical studies, first of all Greek culture in a most encompassing sense, held a prominent place. Despite the utilitarianism that characterized elementary education and that was introduced by the administration, this idealist orientation of the gymnasium was the feature that persisted longest after much of the reforms had been eliminated.

Thus, when the Grand Duchy of Posen became a Prussian province, two different conceptions of secondary education were brought together, both of which were relatively unproven, and yet were rooted within the historical traditions as well as the national aspirations of the two countries.





## CHAPTER THREE

### The Transformation of Secondary Education from 1815 to 1824

#### (a) Preliminary Observations

The appointment of the Privy Councillor von Schuckmann as Humboldt's successor as Head of the Section for Culture and Instruction had adversely affected the reform movement, and the establishment of a Ministry of Education with Altenstein as the responsible minister was expected to strengthen the ranks of the reformers. But education was even at that time not in the centre of public discussion and thus of political debates, and when in 1819 Altenstein submitted his final draft for an Education Act, "it was politically not worth the paper on which it was written".<sup>1</sup> Too strongly had the restoration already taken hold of governmental policies. Extensive measures had been introduced to de-politicize the universities, although the Carlsbad Decrees affected secondary schools as well. Together with other reformers, Humboldt was relieved from his position in the government, and after 1820 the Ministry of Education as such was made the target of criticism. Education was to be restricted rather than expanded, and the re-establishment of order and discipline (Zucht und Ordnung) was to be achieved through greater reliance on 'deep Christian piety' as the leading principle from elementary school to university. To achieve this objective, greater control and,

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<sup>1</sup>Hartmut Titze, Die Politisierung der Erziehung (Frankfurt: Athenaeum Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1973), p. 102.



if necessary, the dismissal of liberal civil servants were deemed warranted.<sup>2</sup> Political controls were also extended over students and teachers, and after Hardenberg had died in 1822, Altenstein became increasingly isolated and was finally prepared to make political concessions to the growing pressure. In May 1824 a major shuffle of leading administrators within the Ministry removed the last major spokesmen of the reforms from influential positions, among them Nicolovius and Suevern.<sup>3</sup> It is against this background that the following discussion has to be seen.

With the Grand Duchy having become one of the ten provinces of the Prussian state,<sup>4</sup> the establishment of a Provincial Consistory in Posen marked the first step in the transplantation of Prussian administrative principles.<sup>5</sup> Among the duties to be performed was (1) supervision of all pedagogically relevant issues arising in secondary schools; (2) assessment and, if needed, improvement of existing or newly developed school regulations and codes of conduct, including disciplinary measures and proposals for the elimination of disruptive

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<sup>2</sup>Titze, Politisierung der Erziehung, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup>Titze, Politisierung der Erziehung, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup>In later years the number was reduced to eight provinces through the fusion of East and West Prussia, and two provinces in Prussia's west.

<sup>5</sup>The establishment of the Provinzialschulkollegium (Provincial Education Commission) in 1825 introduced the separation of the more clerical Consistories from the more 'professional' administration of secondary education. Cf. Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung auf die Bildungspolitik" in Bildung und Erziehung, 23. Jahrgang, Heft 1, 1970, p. 56.



influences; (3) examination of the basic curricula and school-statutes; (4) evaluation of textbooks used and determining, in cooperation with the Ministry, which books should be recommended or banished; (5) suggesting the publication of newly written textbooks, again dependent on the consent of the Ministry; (6) examination of new teachers and of those who were eligible for promotion; (7) supervision and control of the Abitur-examinations; (8) supervision, direction, and control of all the schools that directly prepared for higher studies; and (9) administration of all the affairs relating to the teaching-staff of those schools.<sup>6</sup>

The reorganization of Prussian secondary education had reached the point in 1818 at which definitive decisions had been made as to which schools were permitted the designation of a Gymnasium. Ninety-one such schools were officially accredited for the entire state, and three of them, namely the ones in Posen, Bromberg, and Lissa were located in the Grand Duchy. A certain under-representation of the province existed right from the beginning. The Prussian population totalled 10,616,899 that year, of which 859,328 lived in the Grand Duchy; accordingly, the national average was one gymnasium per 116,669 inhabitants, the respective figure for Posen being 286,443.<sup>7</sup> Seen from a slightly different perspective, the 9,757,571 Prussians living in the 'old' provinces were served by 88 gymnasia, bringing the average down to 110,882 inhabitants per gymnasium.

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<sup>6</sup>Ludwig Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegand und Grieben, 1864), Vol. 1, p. 6-7.

<sup>7</sup>Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen, p. 463.



More startling, however, becomes the picture if the Grand Duchy's population is subdivided according to denominations: Two 'Protestant' gymnasia in Bromberg and Lissa served 241,352 Protestants, whereas there was no purely Catholic gymnasium for the 563,468 Catholics;<sup>8</sup> the Marien-Gymnasium, although predominantly attended by Catholic students, was officially listed as a non-denominational school (Simultan-Gymnasium). It is interesting to note that even the official figures for 1832 and 1859 exhibit the same or similar disproportion. No additional secondary school had been established by 1832 (the next one to be opened was the Protestant Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in 1834), while the population-figure had increased by 23 per cent. By 1859 additional schools had been founded, and now the official figures were 116,184 Protestants per gymnasium, as compared to 293,357 Catholics per gymnasium. In sum, even at the middle of the century, a strong Catholic majority--the ratio of Catholics to Protestants being about 2 to 1--had fewer secondary schools than their Protestant fellow-citizens.<sup>9</sup> To put it more bluntly, the statistical data suggest that the Protestant population during the period under discussion was served by the establishment of new schools to a greater extent than the Catholic population. And since Protestant was practically identical with German, and Catholic with Polish,

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<sup>8</sup>The designation of the Marien-Gymnasium as a Simultan-Gymnasium is misleading to the extent that it was as much or as little Catholic as the Gymnasium of Lissa was Protestant.

<sup>9</sup>In 1859, the 37.3% Catholics in Prussia were served by 23.9% Catholic gymnasia; in the province of Posen, the 64.2% Catholics were served by 3 Catholic gymnasia, or 25% of the secondary schools. Cf. Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen, Vol. 1, pp. 440-42.





the secondary schools definitely served as agencies for strengthening the German element.

As a result of the Grand Duchy's under-representation regarding the number of secondary schools, the schools' 'output' of graduates was equally scarce:

Table 4:

| Year | Graduates per 100,000<br>Grand Duchy | Graduates per 100,000 inhabitants<br>Prussia total |
|------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1820 | 0.58                                 | 5.55   |
| 1832 | 1.42                                 | 10.61  |
| 1850 | 4.09                                 | 8.58   |

The drop from 10.61 to 8.58 in Prussia can be explained by the fact that after 1834 only those graduates were counted who sat for the Abitur at the gymnasium, thus excluding all those who had previously received their Certificate of Maturity from the universities. On the other hand, the impressive increase in the figures for the Grand Duchy particularly between 1832 and 1850 is attributable to the opening of three more gymnasias and two Realschulen during those years.

(b) The Tension Between Continuity and Change: The Marien-Gymnasium

The Marien-Gymnasium in Posen was academically the most respectable gymnasium of the province at least for the first ten years after 1815. The teachers employed, but also the socio-economic background of the student-population indicate that the school was the centre of secondary education at that time. The Prussian government made Dr. J.S. Kaulfuss<sup>10</sup> the new interim principal, a man who

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed account of his life, cf. Appendix A.



was called an extremely able and successful teacher and director,<sup>11</sup> but who, nonetheless, became a target for political accusations during his days. He had joined the school in 1804 after having obtained his doctorate at Halle University in 1803.

One of his most pronounced statements on the relationship between the school and the state was published as early as 1817.<sup>12</sup> The intended relevance for the Grand Duchy is obvious, especially since he cited the Marien-Gymnasium as an example for his contentions: A peaceful coexistence of the various religious groups and nationalities is portrayed. Of the 515 students, most were Catholic, four of them 'Reformed' and eight 'Lutheran', but "teachers and students . . . live in greatest harmony. If this is possible in Posen, why should it not be feasible in Germany and in all the other provinces of the Prussian state?"<sup>13</sup>; the way in which inner-German discord could be overcome and cooperation be secured, formed the main part of Kaulfuss' study. Starting out from the most recent European political events, his basic criticism focused on the observation that no state had as yet utilized a politically organized education system for buttressing its own existence, and in Germany, where the need for

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<sup>11</sup>Warnka, "Festrede zum dreihundertjaehrigen Jubilaeum der Anstalt" in Schulprogramm des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1873. See also Schweminski's comments on Kaulfuss in Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums, 1848.

<sup>12</sup>Johann Samuel Kaulfuss, Die Erziehung fuer den Staat (Posen: Decker und Compagnie, 1817). Another book written by Kaulfuss in 1822 was entitled Monarchie und Schule.

<sup>13</sup>Kaulfuss, Erziehung fuer den Staat, p. 28.



such deliberations was most deeply felt, the same lack of concern seemed to prevail. What was needed for establishing greater cohesion was one religion, one language, and one set of customs. More specifically, a number of new objectives had to be pursued in education:

- (1) An emotional link had to be established by means of education, aiming at a feeling of loyalty for King, Government and Fatherland;
- (2) the patriotism of all the peoples within the Prussian state had to be accounted for;
- (3) the religious differences, particularly with regard to the Catholic Church, could be compensated for by means of a politically oriented education system;
- (4) the elimination of linguistic differences on political grounds was deemed unnecessary, and "commitment to King and Government is most successfully established by using the vernacular . . . .

A politically oriented education operationalizes language differences for one and the same purpose: to develop a feeling of attachment to the whole";<sup>14</sup>

- (5) education was seen as the most effective means for eliciting the feelings of belonging and trust within the new citizens of the state. Among the measures to be taken for ensuring success, Kaulfuss suggested the following as being most important: First, all education should be public; the state should control private instruction at home, and abolish all private educational institutions. Second, the state should fully utilize its right and responsibility of determining educational policies, particularly with respect to curricula, methods,

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<sup>14</sup>Kaulfuss, Erziehung fuer den Staat, p. 6.





textbooks, employment of teachers, and types of institutions. Third, all the sciences to be taught had to be approved by the state. Fourth, only centrally approved textbooks should be allowed in schools, except for the universities. Fifth, all schools within the state should pursue national rather than denominational objectives. Sixth, the state should assume responsibility for teacher-training, because what was needed was not teachers as such, but Prussian teachers, and the Prussian youth ought not to be educated for cosmopolitanism, but for the Prussian state. However, "in every province will the language of instruction be that of the majority of the people, with a healthy emphasis on German in all the non-German schools, next to the vernacular."<sup>15</sup>

What comes rather as a surprise is the clear anticipation of the future course of Prussian education, but also the brusque rejection of all the neo-humanist philosophy which he must have studied during his training at the University of Halle. Almost no trace is left of Wolf's concept of humanitas, and Humboldt's fear of the individual being sacrificed to the 'citizen', was substantiated by the suggestions made in Erziehung fuer den Staat. The only concession made by Kaulfuss is the need for preserving at least some aspects of the various nationalities' cultures, such as language. But also another aspect deserves mentioning. Kaulfuss was definitely not anti-Polish, as a treatise written by him 'On the Spirit of Polish

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<sup>15</sup> Kaulfuss, Erziehung fuer den Staat, p. 29.



Language and Literature' would suggest.<sup>16</sup> The more must his strong stance taken in favour of the (Prussian) state have surprised the parents of his students, as well as his colleagues. On the other hand, his statements must have been welcomed by the provincial and central governments, as became more obvious in later years.

The language of instruction was Polish in 1815, "as it was required by the needs of the Grand Duchy's population".<sup>17</sup> Recognition of the Polish language, on the other hand, created severe problems, since there was at the same time the demand made by the state that the academic youth master the language of the state, namely German. Conversely, German-speaking students were required to learn Polish in order to profit from lessons given in Polish. The stress on teachers to cope with such a situation, and to reconcile the conflicting demands regarding the use of both languages, must have been considerable, and was not always duly appreciated by the authorities. Kaulfuss in quoted on this matter as follows:

A good teacher here with us is the more remarkable . . . because, due to the nature of our school, he has to possess many qualities which he might not need in the old provinces and still be considered a good teacher. In our setting, his services might be of no great avail.<sup>18</sup>

The legal basis for the use of the two languages in the school was provided in a letter from the Ministry of the Interior to the President-

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<sup>16</sup> Harry Kenneth Rosenthal, German and Pole. National Conflict and Modern Myth (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Schweminski, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums" in Jahresprogramm des Marien-Gymnasiums, 1847/48.

<sup>18</sup> Schweminski, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums", p. 27.



in-Chief, of December 12, 1815. On the outset, the former government of the Duchy of Warsaw is credited with its generosity regarding the provisions for teaching German. Therefore, "to exercise the same considerate constraint appears to be appropriate and wise, and to start germanizing the school too early and too forcefully is not in our interest". The writer of the letter, Schuckmann, proposed to treat German and Polish on the same footing, but

in the course of time many things can develop that could be made more difficult if not wrecked by measures demonstrating the intention of undermining the idiosyncracies of the Polish nation. At the present time it is of utmost importance for the superintendents, principals, and teachers to gain the confidence of the Polish people by means of creating a climate of sincerity, namely that the education of their children will be promoted, all the undeveloped dispositions will be attended to. A just, non-discriminatory attitude will de-emphasize national differences. Only in this way can the schools exercise an influence over the nation that will show its results in time, particularly if the proper selection of teachers is guaranteed . . . .<sup>19</sup>

The extent to which those policies were adhered to at the Marien-Gymnasium can only indirectly be assessed. For example, the principal of the school, Kaulfuss, advised the teachers of Polish to select topics and interpretations that would foster the students' morality, and result in the emergence of 'proper' views as well as in loyalty for the government.<sup>20</sup> One of the teachers of Polish, a certain Professor Antoszewski, was later blamed for selecting problems for dis-

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<sup>19</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4. State Archive of Poznan.

<sup>20</sup> Notes by Dr. Kaulfuss concerning the examination March 28 to April 4, 1816. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.



cussion that allegedly nurtured a spirit among students alienating them "from their present situation."<sup>21</sup> Other indications of tensions existing within the school were the occasional complaints by German teachers that the students tended to confide in teachers of Polish origin, rather than in their teachers in general. This was particularly true for those German teachers who either lacked the knowledge of Polish, or who overemphasized their Germanness by refusing to communicate with their students in Polish.<sup>22</sup>

One may legitimately consider this kind of disturbance in the school's overall climate as being 'normal' in the sense of political or philosophical differences existing in practically every school of a comparable size, and clashes of personalities among members of the teaching-staff used to occur everywhere and anytime. What appears to be of importance, though, is the political sensitivity that those clashes and disturbances assumed in the specific historical situation of the Marien-Gymnasium. The following incidence appears to be a prime example for this contention, and it is of immediate relevance, since it resulted in the removal of the school's principal.

Initially, Dr. Kaulfuss' position seemed to be very strong, and his outspoken pro-Prussian stance taken in his book Erziehung fuer den Staat was followed by similarly uncompromising statements.

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<sup>21</sup>Letter from the President-in-Chief to Kaulfuss, of July 9, 1816. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Letter from Dr. Bernd to Kaulfuss, in Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 5. Here Dr. Bernd, who taught Latin, Greek, and German complained about misconduct of students which he attributed to political biases. In 1818 he therefore asked for his transfer.





For example, in 1819 the Ministry of Education acknowledged receipt of such a paper:

The undersigned Ministry appreciates the submission of the copy of your essay on the advantages of the German language and literature over the French, and expresses its satisfaction regarding your laudable efforts to fight the prejudice still existing among the Polish population with respect to German literature  
 . . . . .<sup>23</sup>

A more critical letter followed from the President-in-Chief's office just twelve months later; here, again, his zeal of promoting the German language and thereby preparing his students for their future studies at German universities was duly appreciated,

however, as has been noticed, your endeavours have been too rash and untimely, and they have caused complaints which, whatever effects they may have, will interfere with the attainment of the envisaged objective. National biases require careful handling, and they will be removed more easily through wise complaisance than through force . . . . We still adhere to our regulation . . . of last December . . . that in the future the language of instruction for the two upper grades will be German only; the time, though, when this regulation will consequently be implemented, has as yet not been determined.<sup>24</sup>

The complaints mentioned must have come from his colleagues in December 1819 or January 1820; in a letter dated February 20, 1820 the Ministry referred to Kaulfuss' response to a formal submission by two of his teachers, presumably J.V. Cassius, a classics-teacher, and Dr. Trojanski who in later years became professor at Cracow University. The letter they received from the President-in-Chief's

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<sup>23</sup>Letter of the Ministry to Dr. Kaulfuss, of November 26, 1819. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 7.

<sup>24</sup>Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 8.



office obviously formed the pendant to the one mentioned above, and it aptly demonstrates the "wise complaisance" in that the thrust of the arguments is slightly different from the letter sent to Kaulfuss:

It is not in the least intended to phase out the language of the country from the schools; on the contrary, the scientific study of it points in the opposite direction. Please note that Polish will definitely remain the sole language of instruction for all subjects in the lower four grades. German as the language of instruction in the two upper grades serves the well-meant purpose of preparing those students who intend to attend German universities, for the easy and successful understanding of the lectures.<sup>25</sup>

The delicate climate deteriorated after J.M. Schottky<sup>26</sup> had joined the school's staff in 1822 as the new professor for German language and literature. The letter in which Kaulfuss welcomed the Ministry's move to strengthen the position of the German language in the Grand Duchy in general and in his school in particular revealed an almost militant zeal, entirely contrary to the cautious approach proposed by di Sposetti. In arguing that there was a need to bring his students, most of whom were "the sons of the aristocracy of this province", closer to the Prussian state, he concluded,

All those who maintain that the Polish souls can be won for the Prussian government through beneficial gifts, don't know this province at all. There is only one way: Germanization; and this instrument is the more important for our school since it educates the elite of the young nobility. This is the main reason for some people to oppose so obstinately all my efforts of making the German language predominant in this school. Perhaps they realize that by means of the German language the young minds will gradually

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<sup>25</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 8.

<sup>26</sup> For more information on Schottky, see Appendix A.



be imbued with attachment to the Prussian government.<sup>27</sup>

One of those "young minds", at least, was unimpressed. Worse even, he was German, and his father and his uncle were high-ranking Prussian officials. Early in January 1824, the student von Jonemann, seventeen years old and in Tertia, had pointed at a picture of Frederick II in his history-book, and remarked, "there he is, the rogue". Jonemann's account of the incident was slightly different. The teacher, Schottky, punished him with four hours of detention for "disrespect of the teacher and disturbance of the class", and as to the remark itself, further action would be taken. Dr. Kaulfuss, after he had been informed, tried to extenuate the whole affair, arguing that the student's remark had not been meant for a living monarch, in which case, it, however, would have been high treason and a lese-majesty. He suggested to punish the student with detention.

A few weeks later the police-commissioner of the city of Posen, Holland, contacted Schottky at home in order to investigate the "poisonous spirit and educational principles" that prevailed at the school. Schottky, he argued, whose "patriotism and loyalty to the Prussian Royal Family were well known to him", was the only one whom he could trust. The correspondence between Schottky, the Provincial Education Commission, and the Ministry in Berlin sheds some light on the practices that were used to set an example and, as it appears in hindsight, to justify a possibly long-planned punitive

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<sup>27</sup> Letter from Kaulfuss to the Ministry of Education, of July 10, 1822. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8930 (XXIV G 3 b). State Archive of Poznan.





or disciplinary action.<sup>28</sup> But more importantly, the ensuing proliferation of the affair has to be seen against the political climate existing in the Ministry of Education in 1824, as has been outlined above.

On January 24, 1824, Schottky informed the President-in-Chief of the incident, accusing Jonemann of a "criminal excess", and Dr. Kaulfuss of "dereliction of duty by trying to cover-up those crimes". Di Sposetti reacted by also castigating the student's behaviour and considering Kaulfuss' attitude as disloyal; in his view, Jonemann was to be removed from the school. Schottky was now urged to provide more evidence for the alleged "poisonous spirit". Although he was hesitant to testify against Kaulfuss and Cassius who had apparently defended the student, his respective report reveals some of the tensions in general as they existed in the Grand Duchy. According to him, "an influential public figure" had cautioned him to tread softly, since, once Posen was lost to the Poles again, they would be more generous to the Germans. Otherwise, the heads of the most active Germans might fall first. To Schottky, this attitude was at the bottom of the phenomenon that many Germans, having come to the province less than twenty years ago, were the fiercest, though disguised,

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<sup>28</sup>For a full account of the incident, see Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8930 (XXIV G 3 b). As an immediate response to the accusations, a resolution signed by probably all the Polish teachers, e.g. von Buchowski, Trojanski, Cassius, Motty, Stoc, Szumski, Czwalina, Krolikowski, Macinkowski, Muszkowski, and Bradziszewski, stated that they had no problems at all with the conduct and the obedience of their students. The letter was written on January 29, 1824. It is interesting in this context that Jonemann was a German student.



enemies of Germanness. They seemed to regard the present political situation as a transitional one, and for economic reasons, i.e., by serving their predominantly Polish customers, they took their side. Prominent Poles used to display foreign medals and decorations, but not those awarded by Prussia. In the schools, the study of German literature was looked upon most disrespectfully, and most of the essays written for the Abitur were related to Poland; speeches held by graduates were focused on Poland as the fatherland, and recourse to current political events was ubiquitous. Professor Cassius in particular had openly shown little sympathy for the Prussian government. Of special importance are Schottky's comments on the school's influence on German students:

They grow up like mental hybrids. The concept of fatherland does not incite them, since they don't have one. Although they will never become Poles in the strict sense despite the omnipresence of Polish ideas, they develop mentally into a state of harshness and self-destructiveness. They soon are at odds with their surroundings, and eventually their inner harmony will be destroyed as well.<sup>29</sup>

In his opinion, the least thing to do for Germans was to defend their nationality, and the students in particular needed help in fending off the infiltration of Polish ideas. He had learnt to speak of Germany with greatest hesitancy only, not daring to mention the Prussian fatherland at all, in order not to offend and to provoke malicious comments.

The Police-Commissioner's report was similar. When

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<sup>29</sup> Letter from Schottky to the President-in-Chief, of January or February 1824. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8930 (XXIV G 3 b).



he was pressed to supply more substantiated evidence, he cited the example of his own son who had learnt in a short time "to think as a Pole". All the students, including Germans, were thinking along the same lines, and the son had expressed his determination not to be willing to serve in the Prussian army; moreover, he intended to join the secret student-corporation 'Polonia' as soon as he began his studies in Breslau.

Only two days later Dr. Kaulfuss was removed from office and transferred to a school in Prussia. Cassius was suspended by order of a "topmost special decree" (Allerhoechster Special-Befehl), and Schottky, whose position in the school had apparently become intolerable, was also transferred. The 'clean-up' work that followed was performed by a letter from the Minister of Education, Altenstein, to the Provincial Education Commission. Greater care was to be taken to mould the students into useful and committed members of the state; additionally, the fact that the sons of German officials and citizens were handicapped by the use of Polish as the language of instruction in the lower grades, had to be rectified. Everything possible should be done to remove conditions that would impede the successful attendance of German universities by any student, German or Polish. An investigation into the loyalty of teachers was also to be conducted. The following passage seems to be typical of the policy concerning how to maintain a maximum level of loyalty among teachers in those years:

I expect from you a report on this investigation that takes everything into consideration, and I trust you will not let any personal feelings enter into your judgment, particularly since His Majesty



graciously allowed those teachers whose removal from the school should be required, will find employment as teachers in the same position and with the same remuneration elsewhere in the old provinces, except for Silesia and West Prussia.<sup>30</sup>

The new interim principal was now made responsible for re-establishing discipline among teachers and students, and a well-ordered, simple and quiet life should be fostered among the latter. Their supervision should be increased, preventing visits to coffee-houses, inns, or gambling-saloons. In cases where they met for noisy parties or other meetings, the schools should enlist the support of the police and break up those gatherings.

To assume from the foregoing discussion that the Marien-Gymnasium was a tension-ridden institution with political confrontation forming part of daily life, would certainly be inappropriate. The incidences discussed, and the examples of tensions between the two nationalities cited, were meant to qualify the official appraisal of "harmony" and "serenity". Moreover, the forces of continuity, i.e., adherence to the school's traditional spirit, the attempts to preserve a certain degree of Polishness or of a Polish national identity have to be juxtaposed to the forces of change, namely the Prusso-German element that made its demands on teachers and students alike. Last but not least, the strategies of the central administration to deal with disruptions, and to re-establish a balance between those two forces, form an integral part of what might generally be called germanization-attempts. Importantly enough, and here sociological

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<sup>30</sup> Letter from the Minister of Education to the Provincial Education Commission, of June 6, 1824. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8930 (XXIV G 3 b).





aspects enter into the picture, a clear indication of a groundswell of cohesiveness among the students (and some of their teachers) was noticeable which might be interpreted as the expression of a nascent social consciousness.

(c) The Quest for a New Type: The Gymnasium of Bromberg

As mentioned before, parts of the later District of Bromberg had been under Prussian administration since 1772, and the portion of Germans living in the area was proportionally greater than in the District of Posen. Thus the preconditions for establishing a new gymnasium in the city of Bromberg were much more favourable, and the rationale for the new school was almost identical with the policies that Frederick II has pursued after the First Partition:

Should the newly gained territories be of lasting value to the Monarchy, then it had to be brought closer in its educational facilities and particularly with regard to the more advanced education of the higher estates, to the more fully developed older provinces. A genuine benefit of Poznan for Prussia could only be achieved if German attitudes and education, and German scholarship were offered to the hitherto neglected population.<sup>31</sup>

A governmental commission examined the situation of secondary education in the District, and after its report had been submitted in 1816, the new gymnasium was officially opened in 1817, with an annual government-grant of 3,000 Thalers to secure its further development; the other two existing schools in the District, namely the ones at Tremessen and Pakosch, were apparently not considered.

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<sup>31</sup>Breda, "Geschichte des Bromberger Gymnasiums", in Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1867, pp. 3-4.



The first principal, L.N.F. Mueller, outlined in his opening speech the objective of the school:

. . . the school is also entrusted with moulding the students into good citizens of the state, with ennobling them morally and intellectually. It has to assume the responsibility of the parents who, due to their domestic and public situations, are unable to fully concentrate on instructing and educating the young. Consequently, the school cannot be acquitted from its duty, namely to have an eye on its students even beyond the classroom-walls and thereby exercise a beneficial influence on them.<sup>32</sup>

The gymnasium had an initial enrolment of about 70 students who had either attended the previous Szkola glowna, or had had private instruction; within a year the number of students had doubled. The language of instruction was German, and with regard to Polish, the programme of 1818 stated explicitly that the Polish language was duly recognized as part of the curriculum. Not only was it a compulsory subject, but even students of Polish origin had to attend separate classes that would ensure their further progress in their native language. Also, their progress would not be hampered by students who took Polish as a foreign language.

A unique feature at the Bromberg school was the appointment of a government official, Dr. Reichhelm, who not only supervised the preparatory measures before 1817, but who also remained at the school as the intermediate agent between the Provincial Education Commission and the principal. As such, he was exercising considerable powers over the school, being entitled to prescribe and order changes within

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<sup>32</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817.



the gymnasium; all the correspondence between the principal and the government had to be approved by him. Although he seemed to be a very efficient administrator, he at times impeded a smooth working-climate in the school. The reason for this unusual arrangement may partly be seen in the rather weak personality of the principal who is described in most historical accounts as a friendly, able teacher, but lacking energy in the direction of the staff. On the other hand, the provincial government might have felt the need to exercise as close a control over the newly established school as possible, in order to spot undesirable developments immediately. Finally, Reichhelm's personal character might explain his restricting influence. When he was transferred to Berlin in 1826, his successor made his presence felt less strongly. In sum, by 1824 the 'new model'-gymnasium was apparently working perfectly.

(d) The Model for Denominational Coexistence: The Gymnasium of Lissa

The third secondary school that came into existence during the early period was the Gymnasium of Lissa. Here the old school had previously served the Protestant, especially the Reformed Protestant Church, but due to its unstable financial situation it had declined in its instructional standards and reputation. After 1815 the government's interest in the opening of a further full-fledged gymnasium initiated institutional reforms, and in 1819 the fusion of the Reformed Protestant school with the upper grades of the local Protestant Lutheran school established the foundations for a Royal Gymnasium. It was to be financially supported by the government and to be structured after the Prussian gymnasium-model. The opening-





ceremony was delayed until 1821, when about 120 students attended classes. The principal, B.D. Cassius, had been in office since 1800 and was now 75 years of age.

At Lissa, as well, the question of the place of Polish in the new school formed an early issue. And although Cassius initially tried to give priority to Polish over German, the authorities decided that an equal amount of time should be allotted to both languages.<sup>33</sup> The language of instruction should be decided according to the number of students in that the majority would be respected. Since the school was located in a predominantly German area, the outcome was apparently foreseen:

It is indispensable, however, to retain the use of Polish alongside with German, and both should be used during the lessons. In the two highest grades German may prevail, except for the course in Polish literature.

Closely related to the language issue was the problem of over-burdening students by the inclusion of an additional foreign language, German or Polish. After Greek had been introduced since 1815, cut-backs were required in other subjects. The stance taken by the Education Commission is most remarkable: No reduction in Polish was to be granted,

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<sup>33</sup>Cf. Cassius' draft of the school's instructional plan, of August 5, 1819, and the notes written on June 14, 1820. See also the letter from the Provincial Education Commission to Cassius, of April 28, 1821. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 1. State Archive of Poznan. According to Alfred von Sanden, Zur Geschichte der Lissaer Schule, 1555-1905 (Lissa: Friedrich Ebbeckes Verlag, 1905), p. 48, the distribution of lessons for Polish was: VI 5; V4; IV 3; III 3; II 3; I 3; and for German: VI 4; V 4; IV 3; III 3; II 3; I 2. Sanden here speaks of a "strong emphasis on Polish" and of a "pitiful neglect of German".



and also the Scientific Deputation at Breslau University (Wissenschaftliche Pruefungskommission) appeared to fully support the decision:

The fact that so many hours are spent on the study of the Polish language can be explained by the local circumstances and the structure of the language. But it is desirable, particularly initially, when the students still have difficulties with the Greek language, to spend more time on the same.<sup>34</sup>

The year 1824 brought a significant change when Cassius retired and J.C. von Stoephasius was appointed his successor. He had been active in the Provincial Education Commission since 1818, and his rapport with the provincial government must have been excellent. Prior to 1818 he had been professor at the Lyceum in Warsaw, then became director of the Paedagogium of Magdeburg, and as a member of the 'Society of the Friends of Science' (Gesellschaft fuer Freunde der Wissenschaften) of Warsaw, and of the 'Scientific Society of Warsaw University', he was well acquainted with the Polish cultural heritage. His appreciation of Polish culture was clearly expressed in his letter to Cassius in 1820:

We now face the difficult task of finding a new qualified teacher for Polish language and literature. As you are aware, this is a very important issue under the present local conditions. To choose the wrong man would cause irreparable harm; we lose all the trust of the natives, that we honestly want to preserve the language of the country, unless we find somebody who energetically and devotedly nurtures and sanctifies the delightful language and literature of Poland. You, my dear Cassius, I consider among the most select members of the 'Scientific Society of Warsaw', trying to uphold the essence of the most holy a nation can have, namely its language, which you have been endeavouring to culture for years . . . .

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<sup>34</sup> Letter of the Scientific Deputation, of October 8, 1821. Acta Gimmazjum w Lezsnie, Sygn. 1.



You love your country, your nation, and so do I;  
 and that is why I have written the letter in this  
 manner, hoping you will grant me your cooperation  
 . . . .<sup>35</sup>

Stoephasius' appointment had long been prepared by the Ministry of Education; as early as 1822 the General Superior of the Brotherhood, under whose patronage the gymnasium had been from its early beginnings on, had been informed that the government would appreciate the choice of 'their' principal. But since Stoephasius' esteem for Polish culture must have been known to the ministerial officials, there is reason to assume that principals like Kaulfuss were not at all the 'first choice' on the Ministry's list of priorities. It is possibly the merit of Stoephasius that he established the further course for the Gymnasium that was followed practically by all his successors throughout the period under discussion.

By 1824 the three schools just presented had become fully operative, and the initial phase of adjustment to the new political conditions had been completed. Although no drastic changes occurred for the next few years, a subtle shift towards closer control of the schools seems to have taken place. For example, the 1824-annual programme of the Gymnasium of Bromberg mentioned numerous regulations issued by "high and highest" authorities, aiming at a more clearly defined moral and religious education. The formerly unspecified admonitions were now being extended: "The schools have, additionally to their goals of scholarly, humane, moral, and religious education,

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<sup>35</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission to the principal, of March 26, 1820. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 12.



to promote within the students a respectful attitude, loyalty and attachment to the most benign person of the country's ruler". And in referring to policies pursued in Prussia proper, teachers were instructed that firm discipline should avoid any arguing and discussing with their students, so that they will learn "to follow the existing laws without opposition, to succumb willingly to the government in power, and to acknowledge the civic order (buergerliche Ordnung) through their actions."<sup>36</sup> As Titze characterizes the educational policies during those years, they tried to find a solution to the problem how the modernization of society was to be reconciled with the existing political order,<sup>37</sup> and in recognizing the interdependence of educational reforms and political reforms, the former had to be curbed. In the area of secondary (and higher) education, all conceivable efforts were made to de-politicize the respective institutions and thereby press for conformity, socially as well as politically. And yet, the attempted de-politicization of secondary education was at the same time a political action of primary importance: The impact was clearly felt (and opposed) in Prussia proper, but in the Grand Duchy it must have had a much greater effect because as an additional factor the issue of nationality and with it of different political traditions must have aggravated political tensions considerably. Thus the ministerial reaction to the situation at the Marien-Gymnasium in particular has to be seen in the light of overall Prussian policies,

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<sup>36</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1824.

<sup>37</sup> Titze, Politisierung der Erziehung, pp. 129-30.





although the high-handedness of the ministerial administration betrays a fair amount of nonchalance as far as the understanding of the political climate in the Grand Duchy is concerned.

At this point, a few more words are required concerning the de-politicization aspect. The 'Unholy Alliance' of Austria, Prussia, and Russia began to shape much of the politics of the German League (Deutscher Bund) after 1815, and the academic opposition clearly centred around measures of restoring the traditional order. The new student-corporations (Burschenschaften) were most conspicuous in their anti-authoritarian demonstrations, as, for instance, at the Wartburg-Festival. The assassination of the poet and Russian state official Kotzebue by the student Sand in 1819 provided good reasons for harsher restrictions, and here the Carlsbad Decrees and the establishment of the Royal Commission for the investigation of subversive activities were the most outstanding landmarks of the restoration period.

The impact of the respective instructions and regulations could also be felt in the schools of the Grand Duchy; for example, in 1819, when hardly any graduates left the gymnasia of the province, students were advised not to enrol at Jena University which, in fact, came close to an order.<sup>38</sup> The universities of Basel and Tuebingen were barred for students from Prussia because of their "documented disruptive activities of student organizations and their pernicious goals".<sup>39</sup> If students from the Grand Duchy ignored these warnings

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<sup>38</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 7.

<sup>39</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6.



and enlisted at those universities, the loss of employability by the state was likely. A letter by the Minister of the Interior explicitly stated that the security of the Royal Civil Service required "to exclude from it all those individuals who had had contacts with the Burschenschaften".<sup>40</sup> Credentials and transcripts had to be carefully screened for that purpose. National undertones could not be overheard in those exhortations. The letter from the Minister of Education of July 10, 1823 to the Provincial Education Commission and forwarded to the Marien-Gymnasium castigated the "rude and vulgar manners" of young Poles studying at the University of Breslau. The gymnasia of the Grand Duchy were requested to use all their influence to "incite in the students the ambition to represent their nation by decent behaviour, and not to disgrace their people through objectionable activities". Furthermore,

the university administration and the Ministry cannot but relegate those young Poles as soon as they show such rude behaviour, and at the same time to punish the first signs of the same more severely than would be done with other students. All those who are particularly active in this regard will be removed from the university as soon as possible.

The rationale for this 'preferential' treatment was to serve the national feelings of the Polish students.<sup>41</sup>

#### (e) Overall Assessment of the 1815-1824 Period

A number of tentative conclusions can now be offered from the foregoing discussion, although one has to keep in mind that the

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<sup>40</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Letter from the Minister of the Interior, von Schuckmann, of April 18, 1823. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6.



data-basis for the early years is rather limited, and more generally acceptable evaluations can only be offered after the entire 1815-1850 period has been examined and the events and developments of the early years been seen in the context of larger trends and policies.

First of all, the Prussian approach to secondary education, especially after 1815, dominated education in the Grand Duchy, and the full transmission of educational and administrative principles from Prussia proper to the new province tended to eliminate educational traditions in the schools involved. One of the consequences was a certain under-representation of the Grand Duchy's population in educational facilities, and the Polish/Catholic segment was particularly affected by the decision which schools were to be designated as gymnasia. The choice made had certain social and political implications. Despite the claim that the gymnasia were "not only meant for the children of well-to-do families, but also for those from low-income homes", and that therefore the number of students attending the school free of charge should not be limited,<sup>42</sup> the actual restriction in the number of schools preparing for higher studies was in all likelihood militating against families with more modest means. Moreover, the neo-humanistic character of the gymnasia' curricula would favour those students who had the means to continue their studies at the university-level; and since attendance of a gymnasium

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<sup>42</sup>Letter from the Royal Prussian Government I to Dr. Kaulfuss, of September 10, 1817. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 5.





in most cases meant living away from home,<sup>43</sup> the expenses incurred on a family must have been considerable. The political ramifications of the decision which schools should be upgraded as gymnasias were equally visible. The specific arrangements in Bromberg and Lissa minimized conflict because their Protestant/German character would at least exclude discrepancies based on nationality. The problems encountered in Posen right from the beginning might at least have provided some cautioning ideas concerning the intensity and the kind of resistance.

To what extent the fear of germanization became a public concern among the educated Poles is difficult to say. But at least the correspondence between the principal of the Marien-Gymnasium and the higher authorities mentioned 'germanization' as early as 1815 and again in 1822; the reaction of some Polish teachers during the early years suggests that they were concerned about the increased utilization of German at the expense of Polish in school. Perhaps the issue of 'polonization' can best be appreciated in this context. Polishness must have had a definite appeal for German students in those years, and the identification with Polish national concerns could even bring students to repudiate their Prusso-German obligations and thereby oppose their families. It is interesting to note that for the period 1815-1824 no reference could be found to conflicts among students of

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<sup>43</sup> With her 536.51 Prussian square miles, the Grand Duchy was the fifth largest province of the monarchy, but ranged last with respect to the number of gymnasias; whereas the national average was one gymnasium per 56 sq.m., the respective figure for the Grand Duchy was 179 sq.m. The probability that students had to live away from home was thus considerably greater.



Polish and German nationality, but particularly at the Marien-Gymnasium did tensions exist between Polish and German teachers, and here was the beginning of later conflicts arising among teachers (and students) who were natives of the province, and those who were transferred from Prussia proper.

Also with regard to language rights were the early years indicative of the direction of future courses of action. The introduction of German as the language of instruction at least for the last four to five years of the gymnasium seems to have been intended at a very early stage, and one may concede to the Prussian officials who were accustomed to the ethnic situation in the Grand Duchy that their respect for the national, i.e., local language was sincere. From their point of view the introduction of more German instruction for the purpose of enabling the students to attend German universities was certainly justified. However, with the universities of Cracow, Wilno, Warsaw, and Lwow (Lemberg), there were Polish universities nearby, and at least before 1830/31 their attendance by Polish-speaking students from the Grand Duchy would have been possible, although this might have barred them from positions in Prussia proper. There is at least the suspicion that the pronouncements and directives issued by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior were more or less using the university-aspect as a pretext for transmitting German cultural elements, particularly since together with the language came literature and textbooks written most of all by German authors. Thus the two objectives of serving a cultural mission and of preparing the sons of the Polish nobility for the full accept-



ance of Prussian rule were probably indistinguishable for most medium- and lower-level officials.

The politicization of secondary education by means of depoliticizing the schools affected the gymnasia in the Grand Duchy to the same degree as those in Prussia proper. The fact that a totally different set of political issues existed in the new province was only little reflected in the respective regulations. Since the Grand Duchy did not have any universities, there was no 'academic opposition' of the same kind as in Prussia proper, and the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy, particularly the Poles, supposedly felt different about the King's hesitancy of granting his subjects a constitution, than did the Prussian middle class. Conversely, the Poles' concerns about the stipulations of the Besitzergreifungspatent were certainly of little interest to the population of Prussia's old provinces. From there, many of the central administration's ordinances were out of place in the Grand Duchy, or not related to the specific socio-political conditions as they affected the schools. On the other hand, the insistence by the educational authorities on regulations arising out of the Prussian political culture must have met with little understanding only or even with rejection on the part of a population that had been growing up within an entirely different political culture.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Expansion of Secondary Education After 1824

The framework for the discussion of the next quarter of a century and of the development of the Grand Duchy's secondary institutions is characterized by the proliferation of schools, but also by various shifts and changes in political and administrative principles. Whereas there were only three gymnasia in 1824, serving approximately 915 students, the number had increased by 1850 to six gymnasia and two Realschulen with a total enrolment of about 2,530 students.<sup>1</sup>

What was the rationale for this remarkable improvement, and what were the effects that the respective measures had on the social, political, and cultural conditions of the province? The attempt to answer these two fundamental questions will form the main body of the next three chapters in which socio-political and socio-economic changes in the student-population and the teaching-staff will be

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<sup>1</sup>The enrolment-figures presented here and in later parts of the present chapter have been compiled from the various school-programmes, but also from other sources, such as school-records, historical essays, etc.. In many cases those figures vary, e.g. due to the inclusion or exclusion of preparatory classes, or to other reasons that were not specified by the authors of the respective documents. In some cases, no figures at all for a particular year were available, and estimates had to be given. But since the enrolment-figures have not been used for statistical purposes, these inconsistencies appear to be of minor importance, and quoting the source of every individual figure was therefore deemed unnecessary.





examined. First, however, a brief discussion of the schools established after 1824 appears to be necessary in order to facilitate the understanding of some of the issues that arose during the next 25-year period.

In order to place the expansion into proper perspective, some comparative figures of the province and the state in toto will be useful.<sup>2</sup>

Table 5:

| Year | Population in Prussia | In the Grand Duchy | Percent |
|------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 1818 | 10,616,899            | 859,328            | 8.0     |
| 1832 | 13,038,910            | 1,056,278          | 8.1     |
| 1853 | 16,754,869            | 1,370,174          | 8.2     |

Table 6:

| Year | Secondary Schools in Prussia | In the Grand Duchy | Percent <sup>3</sup> |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1818 | 91                           | 3                  | 3.3                  |
| 1824 | 101                          | 3                  | 2.9                  |
| 1832 | 142                          | 3                  | 2.1                  |
| 1850 | 193                          | 8                  | 4.1                  |

Table 7:

| Year | Number of Students in Prussia | In the Grand Duchy | Percent <sup>4</sup> |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1832 | 23,524                        | 928                | 3.9                  |
| 1853 | 33,036                        | 2,248              | 6.8                  |

<sup>2</sup>All figures presented in tables 7-9 have been compiled from Ludwig Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegand und Grieben, 1864), Vol. 1, pp. 412 et passim.

<sup>3</sup>The figures refer to gymnasia, Pro-Gymnasien, and Realschulen.

<sup>4</sup>The figures refer to gymnasia only.



|      | Number of Teachers in Prussia | In the Grand Duchy | Percent |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 1832 | 1,263                         | 42                 | 3.3     |
| 1853 | 1,702                         | 102                | 6.0     |

The under-representation of the Grand Duchy's secondary education becomes quite obvious if the number of schools, students, and teachers is related to the population-figure. Also, a definite stagnation in relation to the expansion happening at the same time in Prussia can be observed for the period 1818-1832, and only during the following years was some ground gained. The figures of Table 7 present only a partial picture, since they refer to the gymnasia only: the two Realschulen of the Grand Duchy formed only 2.7 per cent of the 75 'non-gymnasium' - secondary schools in 1850 (2.5 per cent in 1853), and their numbers of students and teachers might have lowered the percentages given in Table 7 to some degree.<sup>5</sup>

(a) The Gymnasia During the Pre-1830-Revolutionary Period

As discussed before, in 1821 three gymnasia existed in the Grand Duchy, and the 'total' student-enrolment increased almost steadily, although fluctuations could be observed within the individual schools:

Table 8:

| Year | Marien-Gymnasium | Gymnasium of Bromberg | Gymnasium of Lissa | Total |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------|
| 1816 | 492              | -                     | -                  | 492   |
| 1817 | 480              | 70                    | -                  | 550   |
| 1818 | 470              | 130                   | -                  | 600   |

<sup>5</sup>In 1853, for example, the 525 students of the Realschulen of the Grand Duchy formed only 3.3 per cent of the 16,092 students enrolled in all the Prussian Realschulen and Pro-Gymnasien.



|      |     |     |     |     |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1819 | 500 | 140 | -   | 640 |
| 1820 | 514 | 154 | -   | 668 |
| 1821 | 500 | 179 | 150 | 829 |
| 1822 | 450 | 191 | 210 | 851 |
| 1823 | 430 | 213 | 210 | 853 |
| 1824 | 410 | 230 | 275 | 915 |

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Although the next school to be established, the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Posen, was opened only in 1834, the enrolment-figures initially continued to rise:

Table 9:

| Year | Marien-Gymnasium | Gymnasium of Bromberg | Gymnasium of Lissa | Total |
|------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------|
| 1825 | 360              | 261                   | 337                | 958   |
| 1826 | 377              | 253                   | 348                | 978   |
| 1827 | 364              | 229                   | 371                | 964   |
| 1828 | 415              | 228                   | 349                | 992   |
| 1829 | 482              | 239                   | 348                | 1,069 |
| 1830 | 491              | 233                   | 368                | 1,092 |
| 1831 | 428              | 191                   | 359                | 978   |
| 1832 | 383              | 219                   | 316                | 918   |
| 1833 | 466              | 205                   | 297                | 968   |
| 1834 | 429              | 196                   | 285                | 910   |

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The increase was, nonetheless, only slightly above the overall population-growth, and while there were 70 high-school students per 100,000 inhabitants in 1818, the number increased to 87 per 100,000 in 1832. (The respective figure for Prussia was 180). The sharp drop after





1830 can largely be attributed to the political upheavals in connection with the 1830/31 uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, but also the cholera-outbreak during the years 1830-32 might have induced many families to keep their sons at home instead of sending them back to school.

In the schools, the endeavours of de-politicizing public issues and increasing social control were continued. Both aspects can only conceptually be distinguished, since the pedagogy suggested in pursuit of the two objectives was basically the same: Politically motivated disregard of the Prussian authorities did officially not exist or was de-emphasized, in that politically deviant behaviour, such as displaying the Polish national colours or disturbing theatrical performances of German ensembles was criticized in ethical rather than political terms. Thus students were reprimanded for 'immorality' or 'irregular behaviour', for 'inappropriate attire' or simply bad taste whenever they violated existing norms. Two examples may be cited for the interdependence of social and political control.

Zerboni di Sposetti reminded the principals in 1827 of his ordinance concerning precautions to be taken on May Third, i.e., the day when the Polish constitution was proclaimed in 1791, and a day still celebrated by Polish people. He insisted that "excesses that do not at all conform with the present conditions, . . . cannot be tolerated", and made the schools responsible for increased controls of their students. City-officials were asked to cooperate in unobtrusively supervising their conduct. In this way, it was hoped,



"annoying scenes" in the streets could be avoided.<sup>6</sup> A similar incident prompted a letter from the Provincial Education Commission, expressing concern over public misgivings with regard to "students of the Gymnasium who are dressed in a provocative manner, or wear caps of certain colours, thereby indicating their different nationality". More explicitly, the letter stated:

The well-educated person avoids extravagant, unusual clothes, anyways, and we have to remind the young that also in this respect simplicity, neatness, and cleanliness suit them better than showy garments; . . . Even more repugnant, still, are ways of dressing or items of clothing if they are intended to emphasize differences of nationality, which do not exist in our schools, since they all are Prussian institutions.<sup>7</sup>

Almost the same approach is apparent in the letter written by the Provincial Education Commission in November 1826 and which, in view of its implications for curricular considerations, has been quoted in full length in Appendix D. It appears to be a prime example of the way in which pedagogical admonitions, cultural biases, and political reasoning are convincingly interwoven into a treatise that appeals to sound judgement and to the maintenance of law and order. But again, what is surprising is the total lack of political arguments in a strict sense, particularly since the letter was sent to the principal of the Marien-Gymnasium. It is almost a repetition of the instruction issued by the Ministry of Education in 1819 that the

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<sup>6</sup>Instruction by the President-in-Chief, of April 25, 1827. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Letter of the Provincial Education Commission, of July 6, 1827. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 10.



young should be discouraged to assume

they might have the right to judge current events and public matters, and that they had been called upon to actively participate in the shaping of public life or even to help realize an imagined better order. Of course, an active love for the King and the fatherland has to be deeply implanted into the souls of our youth, and here the history-lessons can be used with greatest benefit. But under no circumstances can we tolerate that any teacher may induce the young to make premature judgements concerning issues which they cannot comprehend and judge fairly, by means of artificial comparisons in history with our present times or through intentional, frank, or disguised connections with contemporary princes, peoples, and states.<sup>8</sup>

This instruction had been sent to all the Presidents-in-Chief of the Monarchy, but one may well assume that its relevance for the teachers and students of the Grand Duchy was of a different order than in other Prussian provinces.

Controls were also to be exercised beyond the classrooms, and a special commission was assigned to draft comprehensive school-regulations or a code of conduct for students that would apply to all the gymnasia of the province. Its Section 39 of the official draft stipulated:

As soon as a student has enrolled, the principal becomes his superior whose orders have to be obeyed immediately in school and out. Without his permission the student is not allowed to miss lessons. The principal is therefore not only entitled to check every student at home, and to have him brought to the school by the caretaker at any time, but also--should the student refuse to follow--to enlist the support of the police.<sup>9</sup>

One has to keep in mind, however, that a great number of students

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<sup>8</sup> Instruction to all Presidents-in-Chief, of October 30, 1819, cited by Titze, Politisierung der Erziehung, pp. 132-33.

<sup>9</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6. The Commission had been initiated by di Sposetti and was headed by Stoephasius, and began its work in 1822.



lived as lodgers in private homes of relatives or guardians; but apparently the regulation was also meant to apply to students who lived in their parental homes. Since the section mentioned above did not form part of Dr. Kaulfuss' copy of the draft, it was possibly a suggestion made by the administration. There must have been opposition to those far-reaching powers of the school, and the text was changed and now read:

Every student owes the principal strict obedience in school and out, and all teachers within the school. Also, all the teachers have to be treated with respect.<sup>10</sup>

A final revision followed in November 1824, when the Ministry decided "on request of the provincial education authorities" on the more acceptable text:

Every student owes the principal and the teachers strict obedience and respect, both in school and out, unless he is supervised by his parents or guardian.<sup>11</sup>

One may legitimately assume that the spirit of neo-humanism was still strong enough among the members of the commission to prevent the administration from fully controlling the students' lives. A related problem, namely to increase the efficacy of supervision outside school-hours by subdividing the city of Posen into areas that would have to be controlled by individual teachers, met with strong resistance from the teachers, since more difficulties might be created than solved. Their request to have the regulation changed in that

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<sup>10</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6. Also the 1827-annual programme re-emphasized the overriding importance of obedience: "The school knows only one rule: obedience".

<sup>11</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 6.





they would be required to control only those students who were in their 'own' class, was finally accepted.

Modern socialization theory has begun to examine the complementary nature of the socialization process and social control as the bases for social order and continuity. And although the social norms characterizing a given society change and vary according to time and place, the following assessment appears to apply generally:

The effectiveness of social control rests, in the last analysis, on the transmission of the moral norms through the socialization process, on the recruitment and socialization of (witting or unwitting) control agents, and on widespread acceptance of the legitimacy of the norms and sanctions. As an underlying basis for social control, socialization efforts are designed to lead the new member to adhere to the norms of the larger society or of the particular group into which he is being incorporated and to commit him to its future.<sup>12</sup>

The issues prompting the authorities in the Grand Duchy to impose closer supervision aptly fit the above statement. Students were, for example, forbidden to swim in the river Warthe in order to prevent contact with youth from lower socio-economic groups who, because of their allegedly lower moral standards, would exert a negative influence on the high-school students. Police was instructed to arrest students who did not comply.<sup>13</sup> But also Jews and single landladies were considered to be potential sources of 'immorality',<sup>14</sup> although

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<sup>12</sup> John A. Clausen (ed.), Socialization and Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of June 16, 1826. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Remarks on the inferiority of Jewish morality and social standards were ubiquitous, and they not only show the attitudes of the students and the public in general; even pronouncements by the Provincial Education Commission and some of the principals displayed overt disrespect for the Jewish communities.



by contemporary standards the respective allegations were by far exaggerated, and the notion of morality conceived of in much narrower terms. To blame the schools for defending axiological principles that were not at all 'Prussian', but rather reflected values derived from current 'Western' cultural norms, would be inappropriate. But in the context of the present discussion, a distinction between social and political control was practically impossible, given the political climate in Prussia in the 1820's; especially in the light of national conflict in the Grand Duchy would restrictions of any sort be perceived of as politically inspired.

Even at the Gymnasium of Bromberg where the predominantly German student body and the presence of the governmental official, Dr. Reichhelm, presumably lessened political problems, the same socio-cultural objectives prevailed:

The discipline of a school should not depend on external coercion, but on an intrinsically sound spirit, resulting among the students in a morally impeccable will, decency of behaviour, conscientious industry, punctual obedience of the law, and grateful devotion and respect for their teachers and leaders.<sup>15</sup>

Here as well, positive goals were set for the students and contrasted with unacceptable attitudes and behaviours, such as idleness, 'distorted' and 'impure' views, improper attire, and attending dubious places of entertainment and parties. Conversely, objectives like incorruptable work ethics, unconditional respect for the law, for order and custom, a vivid communal spirit, active patriotism, unlim-

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<sup>15</sup>Schulakten des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, Sygn. 135. State Archive of Bydgoszcz.



ited loyalty and devotion to "the hallowed person of His Majesty, our King", were to be pursued incessantly. The underlying basis of morality was a Christian piety "which manifests itself, far from any pomp and meaningless verbiage, and also bare of all those undefined emotions of pernicious fanaticism, in a childlike trust in God".<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to these objectives, some students seem to have seen their school with different eyes. Otto Roquette, a later writer, attended the Gymnasium during the 1830's, and his account presents a rather dismal picture of school-life in those years. One must not forget, however, that his biographical reflections were written in later years when anti-Polish feelings were even more readily accepted than before the 1848/49 watershed. He had gone through elementary education at Gnesen, at an entirely German school for "the sons and daughters of officials, army officers, and German burghers".<sup>17</sup> Here the Poles lived separated from the Germans, completely among themselves, and there was no Polish middle class but only nobles and peasants, and a great number of Jewish people. Concerning the Gymnasium of Bromberg, Roquette claimed that the Polish element was more strongly represented at the school than in the city itself; many teachers were of Polish nationality and had difficulties in mastering the German language. In his opinion, they appeared to compete with their students' frivolity and "wildness", and whenever

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<sup>16</sup> Schulakten des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, Sygn. 135.

<sup>17</sup> Franz Luedtke, "Erinnerungen Otto Roquettes (1824-96)" in W. Brunck and H. Sudheimer (eds.), Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817-1927 (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Gebrueder Hoffmann, o. J.), pp. 9-16.



they were required to speak German during their lessons, they displayed their aversion to anything German; the school seemed to provide them merely with the means for improving their financial and economic situations. The older teachers Roquette described as having grown rusty under those conditions, or they behaved like their Polish colleagues; the principal, "an extremely little old man" lacked the energy of halting the school's decay. Students in Quinta were mainly of Polish or half-Polish origin, and are depicted as widely enjoying their lives, some of them being in their late teens. Complaints by Roquette's father, addressed to the principal or the school-commissioner Dr. Reichhelm, were answered by attempts to cover-up the disorder, and whenever Roquette himself criticized the conduct of his fellow-students or his teachers, he was told to submit just another report to the government, if he did not like the situation.

More will have to be said about this characterization of school-life at the Gymnasium of Bromberg in later chapters, when the actual composition of the teaching-staff and the student-population during those years will be examined.

(b) The 1830-Uprising and Its Effects on the Schools

On the eve of the insurrection in Russian Poland with all its repercussions in the Grand Duchy, the gymnasia had extended their services to more than 1,000 students, as compared to just over 800 when all three of them had become operative in 1821. The period of the full implementation of Prussian administrative principles and educational objectives had now almost been completed. Exceptional circumstances, however, which the Prussian-type gymnasia had to face in the Grand





Duchy, had only partially been mastered: Firstly, and this was the most impressive success, the structural and pedagogical reorganization now guaranteed a full comparability with the gymnasia in the old Prussian provinces, and the schools turned out graduates who were qualified to continue their studies at any German university. Secondly, an institution had been established that helped to strengthen the German element and as such greatly facilitated the dissemination of Prusso-German cultural ideas and ideals. Thirdly, the support provided for the German element in the schools and in public impeded the national integration of non-German students, especially since all of the latter's parents still remembered the way of life prior to the annexation of the province in 1815.<sup>18</sup> In this regard, the role played by a number of German teachers was wholly dysfunctional in the process of attempted political socialization of the high-school students; this point will have to be discussed later on in more detail. Finally, the social elitism of the gymnasia was strengthened rather than lessened, despite the extension of educational facilities to a larger number of students, and the policy of segregating students from other segments of society on racial, social, and political grounds was counterproductive in the sense of at least maintaining the gap that existed between the various social and ethnic groups.

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<sup>18</sup>In a confidential report from the Provincial Education Commission (signed by Dr. Jacob) to the Minister of Education, von Altenstein, of April 25, 1827 it was mentioned that those parents were embittered about the present state of affairs, although the manifestation of their opposition was becoming less conspicuous. The general policy of the Provincial Education Commission was to take a stance of "impartial justice, without national bias" as long as there were no officially submitted complaints. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8931 (XXIV G 4).



In the light of the analysis just offered, the events in the Kingdom of Poland in 1830/31 had a definite impact not only on the gymnasia as such, but even more so on the political climate within the Grand Duchy by and large. These effects, again, resulted in overtly restrictive measures on the part of the Prussian administration on one hand, but also in the strengthening of former, and the emergence of new, social and political movements among the Poles on the other. As far as the secondary schools were affected, it was the Marien-Gymnasium in which the repercussions of the uprising could most immediately be felt: A number of teachers, followed by an even greater number of students, joined the insurgents in the Kingdom of Poland. From the teaching-staff, the teachers Braun and von Loga were specifically mentioned in the documents available, and as far as the number of students is concerned, a total of about 100 did not report back to school. A portion of them had probably been kept at home by their parents to avoid their sons' exposure to the unrest as it might spread to the city of Posen itself. Since the disciplinary measures taken against the participants in the uprising proved to be severe, it must have been difficult if not impossible to establish the exact number of students involved because most of those one hundred students mentioned above will probably have denied their participation.<sup>19</sup>

Although Schweminski claimed that the good understanding among the students of both nationalities was soon restored, signifying "a con-

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<sup>19</sup> Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums, 1832, p. 41. See also Schweminski, "Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums" in Programm des Koenigl. Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1847/48, p. 30.



cord that was founded in mutual respect through personal acquaintance",<sup>20</sup> the President-in-Chief's office requested the names of all the students who had taken part in the uprising including the social status of their fathers. The following aspects were of particular interest to the provincial administration: (1) whether or not the students involved had previously shown signs of supporting "the so-called Polish patriots"; (2) what the likely agencies had been for politically influencing the students; and (3) how the teachers assessed the effects of the segregation of Polish and German students in the lower grades, on the political orientation of the students.<sup>21</sup> For the time being, all the students returning from the Kingdom of Poland to Posen were not allowed back into school until a ministerial decision had been announced;<sup>22</sup> as it turned out, the Royal Decree barred those students from further attendance, labelling them as "escapees to the Kingdom of Poland", whose participation in the revolt had to be prosecuted.

Although no record could be found concerning the answers of the teachers to those specific questions, a few inferences can be ventured on the basis of additional measures that were decreed during the following years. First of all, those students who had been readmitted after 1831 and whose involvement in the uprising could be proved later on, had to be removed from the school unobtrusively.<sup>23</sup> The

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<sup>20</sup>Schweminski, "Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums", p. 30

<sup>21</sup>Letter from the President-in-Chief, of February 2, 1831. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 14.

<sup>22</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of March 5, 1831. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 14.

<sup>23</sup>Instruction by the Minister of Education, of October 16, 1832. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 15.





fact that the instruction explicitly stated that even the sons of German parents would have to be dealt with in the same way suggests that also German students had been involved. Secondly, stricter precautions should be taken with respect to hiring teacher-trainees (Lehr-  
amtskandidaten) in order to spare students "from the influences of distorted and corrupted views of our times, especially with regard to political orientations".<sup>24</sup> Also with respect to those trainees was detailed information requested who of the younger, but also older teachers showed political leanings that were incompatible with their position. The fear of importing the 'poisenous spirit' of the Burschenschaften into the schools had apparently at that time also reached the Grand Duchy.

Finally, more thorough controls were to be exercised over landlords who accomodated students on a commercial basis. They were to be refused the right of having lodgers as long as their moral and political integrity was questionable.<sup>25</sup> Should students refuse to change quarters, they were to be barred from attending the gymnasium. Among those landlords specifically mentioned was the former teacher Braun, but also Dr. Libelt who had been a student of the Marien-Gymnasium in the 1820's; both men had joined the Polish regiments in the Kingdom of Poland. With respect to the teacher Liszkowski, careful supervision was deemed sufficient. A few months later, Libelt was

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<sup>24</sup>Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission, of September 25, 1833. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 14.

<sup>25</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of January 8, 1840. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 19.





permitted to accomodate students "as long as he proved himself as a loyal Prussian subject".<sup>26</sup> It was in later years that he became one of the leading figures in Polish cultural and political life. Obviously, all those landlords had aroused suspicion as possible sources of influencing the students' political views.

But also in the schools the unrest continued. Teachers were reprimanded who, "instead of staying within the limits of their subjects, used current events or political issues for written exercises or spelling tests".<sup>27</sup> In 1832, "many students were in the theatre, and whenever reference was made in the play to freedom and to political change, they ostentatiously expressed their approval by applauding and making loud, affirmative remarks".<sup>28</sup> It thus appeared to be a predominantly political action when in 1834 a new, Protestant gymnasium was opened in Posen. According to Schweminski, the move came as a surprise to most people in the city, and the decision "occasioned among the public the most diverse evaluations and the strangest conjectures".<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission of April 21, 1840. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 19.

<sup>27</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of May 20, 1831. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 14.

<sup>28</sup>Letter from the Police Commissioner of Posen, of July 11, 1832. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 15.

<sup>29</sup>The Education Commission had, for instance, suggested to admit up to 70 students into the beginners' grades, and since the influx of Polish students was expected to increase, the proposal was added to persuade German students who attended the 'Polish' streams to transfer to the 'German' streams in order to make room for new students. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 15. The first official reference to a new gymnasium for Posen was made on September 4, 1833, in a letter from the Provincial Education Commission.



In practical terms, it meant the termination of the Marien-Gymnasium as a non-denominational school, and the Protestant teachers were transferred to the new Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. Other than political considerations had certainly been operative as well. The overcrowding of the Marien-Gymnasium, especially in the lower grades, had instigated deliberations concerning the establishment of a second gymnasium in the city as early as 1832/33, but the public's expectation had presumably been that the new school would be non-denominational as well. More will have to be said about the events surrounding the new gymnasium in later chapters.

(c) The Period of Institutional Expansion 1834-46

Within the next six years two more schools were established: The Realschule of Meseritz had formerly existed as a county-school, and the Gymnasium of Tremessen was upgraded from a preparatory school (Pro-gymnasium) in 1840. As a result, the overall enrolment figure for the Grand Duchy continued to rise over the next ten-year period: Despite the fluctuations in the figures for the individual schools (and here especially the figures of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and the Realschule Meseritz show an interesting correlation), the 'total'-increase appears to be even more impressive if one compares the following figures: During the 14-year period 1818 to 1832, the number of students per 100,000 had increased from 70 to 87, and now, after the 13-year period 1832 to 1845, it was up to about 125. Considering the 'Protestant' schools, the ones at Bromberg and Lissa showed an almost stable enrolment, while the aforementioned schools in Posen and Meseritz were still 'unsettled'. Both institutions apparently catered for the



Table 10:

| Year | Posen I | Bromberg | Lissa | Posen II | Meseritz | Tremessen | Total |
|------|---------|----------|-------|----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| 1835 | 394     | 205      | 268   | 169      | -        | -         | 1,036 |
| 1836 | 401     | 195      | 256   | 207      | -        | -         | 1,059 |
| 1837 | 442     | 213      | 261   | 223      | -        | -         | 1,139 |
| 1838 | 421     | 214      | 284   | 194      | -        | -         | 1,113 |
| 1839 | 412     | 221      | 280   | 201      | 219      | -         | 1,333 |
| 1840 | 384     | 216      | 256   | 185      | 219      | 273       | 1,533 |
| 1841 | 393     | 201      | 222   | 219      | 212      | 257       | 1,504 |
| 1842 | 390     | 168      | 217   | 241      | 169      | 268       | 1,453 |
| 1843 | 347     | 183      | 233   | 275      | 157      | 275       | 1,470 |
| 1844 | 399     | 198      | 229   | 276      | 166      | 271       | 1,539 |
| 1845 | 424     | 199      | 259   | 328      | 148      | 335       | 1,693 |

needs of the German population, and with Bromberg being too far away, they offered their distinctly different services to approximately the same regional 'clientele', i.e. to Germans who wanted their sons to be educated with German as the sole language of instruction. The figures for Meseritz indicate that the educational philosophy of the Realschule was increasingly considered not to meet the expectations of parents who wanted to give their sons an education with great prospects for the future. They, therefore, preferred the gymnasium-education offered by the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. On the other hand, the Realschule of Meseritz did obviously not appeal to Polish parents who, despite the more practical thrust of the curricular philosophy that resembled the former Polish approach to secondary education, most likely resented the 'German-only'-attitude of the Meseritz-school, as will be discussed



later in more detail.

After the failure of the 1830/31-uprising, and under the new, much more vigorous and nationally determined presidency of Flottwell, open defiance of the authorities appeared to subside. Instead, the first beginnings of the 'period of organic work' among the Polish intelligentsia were to be felt, among them the emergence of ideas that focused on using education for a Polish social reconstruction. This topic will be pursued in detail in the later discussion of the Marcinkowski Association. A few more words, on the other hand, are warranted at this point to outline more explicitly the pervasive influence of the new President-in-Chief, Flottwell, on public life in general and on education in particular; after all, many historians dealing with the 1830-1841 period of the history of the Grand Duchy refer to it as 'the Flottwell-era'.

As Szuman, a former student in Posen, claimed<sup>30</sup>, an "army of civil servants" was brought into the province and used for eliminating from the administration everything that was Polish. Furthermore, the sale of Polish estates to loyal Germans, and the leasing of domains almost exclusively to Germans, were the most salient measures to germanize the Grand Duchy. More recently, a more detailed analysis of those years has been offered by Rosenthal<sup>31</sup>, who emphasized a number of aspects of Prusso-Polish relations that are of relevance for the present discussion: First of all, many Prussian civil servants, despite

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<sup>30</sup>H. Szuman, Die Bureaukratie in Posen (Berlin, 1848).

<sup>31</sup>H.K. Rosenthal, German and Pole. National Conflict and Modern Myth (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), pp. 15-20.





their liberal leanings, denied the Poles specific national rights. Secondly, in view of the persistent refusal by the Poles to accept the 1815-settlement of the Polish Question, and in view of the Prusso-Russian concord in matters related to their Polish possessions, the new restrictive approach pursued by Nicholas I prompted the Prussian government to further curb Polish aspirations to national representation also in the Grand Duchy; Flottwell, who had acquired considerable knowledge and political understanding of the problems posed by the Poles as a considerable part of the monarchy's population under the guidance of Theodor von Schoen, President-in-Chief of East Prussia, and later as the President of the District of Marienwerder, was considered to be the most suitable person to firmly introduce new policies. Thirdly, in regarding Polish cultural potentials and achievements as inferior to German culture, the Prussian administration increasingly "tended to treat the Poles in Posen as second-class citizens".<sup>32</sup> Moreover, since most of the influential administrators enjoyed a high prestige in the ranks of the civil service - and here Flottwell is a prime example - they had close contacts with the professional and economic elites in Prussia, whose specific interests coloured much of their political views about the Poles. Accordingly, the civil servants transferred to the Grand Duchy especially after 1830, arrived with pre-conceived ideas of the Polish national character and the need to convert it into loyalty for the Prussian state.

Meanwhile, greater concern was given in the schools to ques-

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<sup>32</sup>Rosenthal, German and Pole, p. 17.



tions of moral conduct, and the issues that were mentioned in the respective instructions ranged from the still lingering fear of the Burschenschaften, to controlling the students' activities after school-hours. Incidents like occasional fights between students of the Marien-Gymnasium and the new Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium induced the authorities to disallow students to carry sticks with them,<sup>33</sup> a 'privilege' that students in Germany normally enjoyed as a status-symbol rather than a weapon. As far as the aforementioned student corporation is concerned, its 'corrupting' influence was castigated, and while no reference was made to its political objectives, the "smoking, drinking, and singing" of the Burschenschaftler was contrasted to the desirable goals of "leading moral and science-dedicated lives". In order to increase discipline at schools and to eliminate all the disrupting influences which might lead to arrogant and self-righteous attitudes, the schools were given the responsibility of preventing contacts of their students with members of the said student corporation. Instead, students were to be imbued with a deep distrust of all the dangerous activities promoted by the Burschenschaft, and by developing in the students a profound veneration of the benign will of the monarch, they would be enabled to resist being lured into such student activism.<sup>34</sup> What appears to be significant in this context is the inherent proposition that morality and a dedication for science provide a sound alternative to political activities, at least as long as those political affiliations

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<sup>33</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of September 10, 1834. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 17.



cannot be controlled by the state. It has to be remembered, however, that the so-called Pennalism, i.e., the excessive life-style cultivated by some other student corporations, including duelling, drinking, etc. was criticized by the Burschenschaften, and the latter's socio-political objectives of disseminating democratic and liberal, but at times also politically radical ideas, had been at the root of their foundation after the Wars of Liberation. The radicalism especially of the groups at Giessen University and, to a lesser extent, Jena University, and the influence of the Follen-brothers on the ideology of the 'Un-conditionals' at Giessen posed the greatest threat to the authorities, since they most decidedly pressed for political action against the restorative measures of the Federal Diet.

Another feature of the presently examined period was that not only German, but also Polish teachers found it difficult at times to establish good rapport with their students, especially in the upper grades. Complaints about arrogance and self-conceit that went beyond the traditional sense of honour among Polish students, were quite frequent. An incident in 1835, when an 18-year old student slapped a teacher in the face in front of the class is just one example. The student was turned over to the police, and teachers as well as authorities insisted that the "obstinate and arrogant spirit" had to be broken.<sup>35</sup> One may argue that similar instances of insubordination have occurred everywhere, but, as argued before, the very delicate political climate in the Grand Duchy attached an additional dimension to

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<sup>35</sup> Minutes of the staff-conference (1835). Acta Gimmazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 614.





every disruption of the 'normal' and expected working-atmosphere at the schools and particularly in the Marien-Gymnasium, and the governmental bureaucracy as well as the public used to react to such and similar 'outbursts' with greater sensitivity than one would find in Prussia proper.

The psychological stress on all the parties involved in education, from the students themselves up to the levels of the provincial government, must have been considerable. What appears to have become a suppression of the students' ways of self-expression, of having to comply with demands by the schools as the only agencies that provided the credentials for further studies and thereby for the chance of social mobility, is partly expressed in a report by the Minister of Education, Eichhorn, after an inspection of the Marien-Gymnasium in 1844. In his view, "one misses the former vitality and joyfulness, the more one looks into the higher grades". His explanation of the observed phenomenon seems to support partly the claims made above:

Under the former principal, the German element was dominating, and Polish teachers, few as they were, had to comply. Presently, the opposite seems to be the case, and there is resistance against the German teachers. The new principal, stressing religious education more strongly, is in a very difficult position within the school and outside, e.g. among the Polish aristocrats and the so-called Polish Liberals. The former want the Polish youth educated in the spirit of Catholicism, since it forms part of the Polish identity; they oppose, however, a solely religious foundation of education, and that the school should try to educate the students for obedience, modesty, and refraining from political activities. Instead, they expect the young to be educated for assessing the present political situation (Staatsverhaeltnisse) for themselves, although on the basis of the artistocracy's views, and especially history should be taught to make them receptive for liberal ideas.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Letter from the Minister of Education to the President-in-Chief, of May 12, 1844. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8933.





A few comments spring to mind in analyzing Eichhorn's statement: Even in the comparatively 'serene' year of 1844 were the authorities clearly concerned about antagonism between Polish students and their teachers. Furthermore, when a kind of truce had been established between the Prussian administration and the Polish aristocracy, the latter's opposition to germanization was founded less in religious tradition than in national aspirations, namely in promoting in students a critical awareness of political issues. The aristocracy's conservatism, in many ways similar to the conservatism prevailing among the Prussian social elite, was significantly different with respect to the crucial role that political knowledge should play in the students' search for their place in society. At this point the basic difference between the political culture in Prussia and in the Grand Duchy emerges fully, signifying the irreconcilable rift between Polish and Prussian views of what secondary schools should pursue as agents of political socialization. At least in hindsight, the question of inferiority or superiority in the area of political culture appears in a new light.

(d) The Revolutionary Years 1846-48 and After

During the last five years of the entire 35-year period under discussion two more schools were opened, namely the Gymnasium of Ostrowo in 1846, and the former county-school of Krotoschin, now as a Realschule, in 1849. The student-population thus increased further: The ratio of students per 100,000 inhabitants had risen by 1850 to about 185, i.e., the rate of expansion of educational facilities was approximately two-and-a-half times faster than the population-growth, during the entire 35-year period.



Table 11:

| Year | Posen<br>I | Bromberg | Lissa | Posen<br>II | Meseritz | Tremessen | Ostrowo | Kroto-<br>schin | Total |
|------|------------|----------|-------|-------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------------|-------|
| 1846 | 392        | 240      | 279   | 368         | 160      | 327       | 167     | -               | 1,933 |
| 1847 | 362        | 253      | 279   | 428         | 150      | 271       | 184     | -               | 1,927 |
| 1848 | 430        | 269      | 306   | 366         | 166      | 224       | 182     | -               | 1,943 |
| 1849 | 564        | 268      | 252   | 335         | 177      | 335       | 194     | 118             | 2,243 |
| 1850 | 662        | 282      | 267   | 439         | 179      | 355       | 204     | 124             | 2,530 |

The new Gymnasium of Ostrowo was beset right from the beginning with discord among the German and Polish population and fights between Polish and German students. According to a report written by the Minister of Education, after he had received complaints about the political situation in Ostrowo, one can discover strong similarities to the events that had surrounded the Marien-Gymnasium in Posen:

Here in Ostrowo, three miles off the Russian border, the new Polish Athens is expected to rise, and the Gymnasium is supposed to become the nursery for the liberators of the fatherland. The present enrolment is 130, and as soon as the two highest grades come into existence, there will be at least 200. The public is represented by the students through some very significant features. Immediately after the opening ceremony there arose fights between the German and the Polish students because of the caps with their respective national colours; the young Poles wearing red caps with white stripes, and the German boys those with their colours. On the King's birthday some Polish students were not willing to recite and had to be forced to comply. In front of the sculpture of the King, some students gathered and shouted, 'Who is that? We don't have a king! What is the King of Prussia, anyways?' and so on . . . .<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Eichhorn's letter had been written as a response to a complaint by the Deputy County Councillor von Roeder, of January 9, 1846. The fact that this report was dated January 17, indicates the seriousness with which the Minister attempted to deal with the problem at hand. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8948.



The report was confirmed by a governmental commission; its chairman, Dr. Brettner, reported in February 1846 of growing misgivings about the conditions at the gymnasium; and especially the German population, almost exclusively Protestant, looked at the use of Polish as the language of instruction with bitterness or even with wrath. Some German students, according to Brettner's report, were unable to attend the school because of their inability to speak Polish sufficiently; and not only was the majority of the students, namely 135 out of 155, of Polish origin, but also the teachers preferred to converse and teach in Polish. Some Polish families had even moved to Ostrowo because of the school, and therefore, apart from other reasons, more Polish was being heard in public than in former years. In sum, German students, if they wanted to stay in Ostrowo, had to learn Polish in order to succeed in their studies. Further to the report, an additional influence could be felt by the activities of the society towarzystwo pomocy naukowej, the later Marcinkowski Association. The most crucial aspect, however, was clearly spelled out:

What in other provinces, and even in the Protestant gymnasia of the Grand Duchy, is easy, namely to find a principal somewhere in the Prussian Monarchy, is one of the most difficult and most risky ventures in cases like Ostrowo. Here, not only knowledge of the Polish language, but also many other qualities that can be presupposed in Protestant gymnasia, or are of less importance, have to be taken into account.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Report written by Dr. Brettner in response to the request by the Ministry of Education of February 16, 1846. One of the witnesses involved in the investigation, the bookseller Schoen, described the students as "the sons of Polish nobles" whom he knew personally. He also mentioned an incident when the silver ribbon, indicative of the Prussian colours, was torn off a Jewish boy's cap repeatedly, until the student's father bought him a red-and-white cap, indicating the Polish colours. Other students had publicly expressed their opinion that Ostrowo was a Polish gymnasium, and no Prussian colours should therefore be permitted. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8948.





Brettner recommended the implementation of the tightest possible controls over the spirit among the Polish youths, a measure that was even more recommendable in view of the overall political climate in the province. And although no signs of inloyal attitudes among teachers could be found, special consideration should be given to the appointment of the principal, but also of the teachers of history and religious instruction.

The same argument that Kaulfuss had brought to the attention of the authorities in the early 1820 was thus reiterated by Brettner in the late 1840's, namely that the mechanistic transfer of Prussian administrative principles was not good enough; instead, more consideration ought to be given to the specific ethnic conditions prevailing in the Grand Duchy, in the sense of selecting educational and administrative personnel that was capable of understanding rather than merely functioning in their positions. Here is another salient point at which germanization-attempts failed to have lasting effects: The Grand Duchy was simply included into the bureaucratic apparatus of the Prussian Monarchy and the different conditions and needs of the Poles were almost totally neglected. Conversely, the bureaucracy insisted on the strict implementation of the various regulations, irrespective of their relevance for the educational conditions in the Grand Duchy.

The internal situation at the Maria-Gymnasium had meanwhile reached crisis proportions, mainly due to the political events, i.e., the abortive revolution of 1846. As an emergency-measure, the Easter-holidays were quickly scheduled to begin already on March





5,<sup>39</sup> but before lessons were resumed, the Gymnasium had been dissolved altogether by decree of April 28. The Ministry argued that the measure had been dictated not only by the participation of some students in the unrest, but even more so by the deeply felt suspicion that among the students certain groups and movements had been formed, the purpose of which was high treason. Additionally, the general lack of discipline had made the discontinuation of the school in its present form mandatory.<sup>40</sup>

A number of students whose participation in the preparation of the revolution could be proven, were arrested, others were barred from the school, and at least one of them was accused of high treason.<sup>41</sup> According to another source, the then superintendent for secondary schools, Dr. Brettner, informed the assembled teachers on May 4, 1846 that they had been dismissed from their services because of the dissolution of the school. The next day, a 'new' gymnasium was opened in which nothing had changed, except for the Polish teachers who had not been re-appointed.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> At the staff-meeting of March 5, 1846, held in the presence of a Royal Commission, an incident was reported that a student in Tertia had copied the proclamation of the Provisional Polish Revolutionary Government of Cracow. Whereas the student was punished with detention, the principal closed the school in recognition of the unrest in the city as it had already begun to have its effects on the students. Acta Gimmazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 614.

<sup>40</sup> Schweminski, "Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums". See also Acta Gimmazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 853.

<sup>41</sup> Acta Gimmazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 853.

<sup>42</sup> H. Szuman, Die Bureaukratie in Posen, pp. 7-8.



After the Gymnasium had been re-opened, Dr. Brettner was appointed interim principal, but already in 1847 he complained about opposition from within the school, and about incompetence among the teaching-staff. He also requested to be relieved from his position because of bad health. Once more he advised the Provincial Education Commission that his potential successor, should he be appointed from outside the province, "will show poor results, and he might possibly lead the Gymnasium towards its final desintegration, without being responsible for it."<sup>43</sup>

The revolution in Berlin established entirely new conditions also for the schools in the Grand Duchy. In Posen, a number of students began to wear red-and-white cockades, encouraging their teachers to do the same. This time the unrest was more pronounced among the students in the lower grades, whereas the older students remained calm. Many parents requested to have their sons sent hom, and since normal lessons could not be offered under such conditions, the decision came to send all the students home for their Easter-holidays.<sup>44</sup> Out of fear that the authorities might close the school again, classes were scheduled to resume on May 4; this notwithstanding, a petition, probably drafted by the German Central Committee, was submitted to the President-in-Chief, demanding that the school be closed permanently because of its irreconcilable duality of having to teach both Catholic and Protestant students. Although the President-in-Chief could

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<sup>43</sup> Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8933.

<sup>44</sup> Staff-conference of March 21, 1848. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 614.



apparently be won to support the petition, the Ministry of Education decided in late May 1848 not to take any action until the political reorganization of the province had been decided upon. Two months later, an entirely new note was struck by the Ministry, and its letter to the President-in-Chief deserves to be quoted:

If your Honour emphasize at this occasion that Prusso-German national feelings will be promoted, and loyalty to the Government be increase by the intention that the Catholic creed should be curbed because the state, being Protestant in its orientation and in the majority of its citizens, should first of all serve the interests of the Protestant population, then your contention comes as a surprise; and it is not compatible with the presently existing principles of complete freedom of religion and equality, as they are understood by the national government.

The exclusively Polish and Catholic nature of the Marien-Gymnasium has been lessened under the present conditions in that German and Protestant teachers form part of its staff, and anti-German or anti-Prussian movements are not being supported by the school. Instead, these movements have been fought for, for a number of years even in open struggle, aiming at the recognition of a Polish national identity and the subsequently established rights of the Polish population. They have been shared by Polish teachers and students, and they will, hopefully, disappear as soon as the envisaged reorganization of the province will have granted the Polish nationality its due respect.<sup>45</sup>

No doubt, this statement probably made by J.K. Rodbertus, best reflects the brief flowering of liberal thought that pervaded Prussia following the March Revolution, and it is also an adequate expression of the optimism that characterized the initial stages of the National Assembly's deliberations at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt.

All the schools in the Grand Duchy had meanwhile been affected by the political instability. At the Friedrich-Wilhelms-

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<sup>45</sup>Letter of the Minister of Education to the President-in-Chief, of July 22, 1848. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8933.



Gymnasiums, for example, Polish students began to wear red-and-white caps, and German students reacted by displaying Prussian cockades. The authorities interfered with those manifestations of national differences, whereupon the Polish students walked out, and many German students, as well, left the city together with their parents for Silesia, or they were simply called back home. The final examination was even cancelled, and for the first time in the school's history was the Abitur granted without an oral examination. Eventually, classes were cancelled altogether.<sup>46</sup>

In Bromberg, some skirmishes occurred between Poles and the German militia, and some of the older students had joined the ranks; one of them was killed in the course of the fighting.<sup>47</sup>

At about the same time, the Minister of Education, Count von Schwerin, summoned the representatives of the secondary schools for the discussion of necessary changes in the structure and the curricular offerings of the secondary institutions, because "for some time, and especially after the changes in the constitution, the opinion has been voiced that a reform or reorganization of secondary education had to bring those schools closer to the changed political reality."<sup>48</sup> Although the details of the subsequent conference in Berlin will be discussed in a later chapter, mentioning should be made at this point

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<sup>46</sup>Hermann Starke, Zur Geschichte des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Posen (Posen: Merzbachsche Buchhandlung, 1884), p. 26.

<sup>47</sup>W. Brunck and H. Sudheimer, Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest, pp. 22-23.

<sup>48</sup>Letter of June 8, 1848. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.





that the issue of the recognition of the Polish nationality formed part of the deliberations.

The failure of the 1848-revolution, and the futility of the declarations and policy-statements soon began to have their effects on the Grand Duchy and her schools as well. As early as September 1848, the programme of the Secretary of State, presented to the delegates of the Assembly, reflected the Government's strengthened confidence:

The Constitution which this Assembly is about to suggest to the Crown will hopefully ensure that the Prussian people, in closest connection with the entire German nation, will harmoniously and strong, free and orderly, and unbridled develop all its strength and potential, and proceed towards a bright future, to fulfill its world-historical mission.<sup>49</sup>

The final defeat for all those who had expected lasting changes within the schools, became obvious when the decree of the new Minister of Education, von Ladenberg, was issued in 1849: All those teachers had to be removed from the schools who had violated their "duty of loyalty"; such an attitude was considered to be

a moral blot that undermines the public's respect for, and thereby the authority of, the civil service . . . . Whenever such a civil servant assumes that he could reconcile, contrary to his sworn oath of office, the execution of his duties with the subversion of the state's authority whose representative he is.<sup>50</sup>

More clearly than before were the teachers of the entire Prussian Monarchy made responsible to act and think as Prussian officials. Once more had the conservative groups regained control, and from now on

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<sup>49</sup>Programme of the Ministry of Education of September 22, 1848. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.

<sup>50</sup>Instruction by the Minister of Education, of July 26, 1849. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.



national undertones in their statements became more frequent. As far as the schools in the Grand Duchy were concerned, the short-lived interlude of liberal and democratic policies had come to an end, and the firm fusion of the entire Grand Duchy, now exclusively referred to as the Province of Posen, with Prussia proper, terminated the first stage of cultural assimilation.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### Changes in the Ethnic and Social Composition of the Student Population

The macroscopic analysis of the Grand Duchy's secondary schools presented so far will now have to be supplemented with a more detailed examination of how the various changes mentioned in the previous chapters actually affected the schools with respect to the students who were in attendance. For this reason, the specific data of the school-records, school-programmes, institutional histories, etc. will have to be extracted and compared.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Two sources of possible inadequacies with regard to the completeness of the figures, however, have to be mentioned. First of all, many documents have been destroyed or dislocated during the more than one hundred years that have elapsed, and particularly the effects of the two World Wars that were severely felt in the area of the former Grand Duchy have caused considerable losses in archival materials. The second reason for inconsistencies in the presentation of data can be sought in the ways in which during the early nineteenth century statistical data and information about students and teachers have been compiled by the respective school's administrators. Not only were the entries, to say the least, done most carelessly, especially during the first two decades, and especially at the Marien-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium of Lissa. But also were the ways in which data were to be recorded changed from time to time. Although the central administration appears to have issued binding regulations, these, as well, underwent several changes. The same could be found in the semi-official annual school-programmes, in which the scope of the information and the methods of presentation varied considerably among the various schools, but also over the years. For all these reasons, the comparability of data presented in the following chapters is more often than not rather limited.



(a) The Denominational or Ethnic Changes in Posen, Lissa, and Bromberg

As has been mentioned earlier, there can be found no or only little reference in the statistics of the early eighteenth century concerning nationality or ethnic background. Instead, denominational figures were normally used, and the rough equation of Catholic and Polish, or Protestant and German was deemed sufficient for making statements on the composition of the population in a given area. The validity of the equation just mentioned will be examined in the course of the present and the following chapters; but since the data available are almost exclusively based on denominations, there is no alternative but to proceed along those lines and keep the proviso in mind.

Despite the relative abundance of information on the Marien-Gymnasium as such, only one official specification of the students' denomination could be found in the records of the school for the period under discussions;<sup>2</sup> whether or not more comprehensive statistics were ever compiled during those years could not be established. The figures below refer to the students attending the school in 1816, and since at that early stage the 'original' composition had presumably been very little affected by the Prussian reforms, the table below at least offers a 'base-line' from which secondary education started in the Grand Duchy, especially in Posen. The changes in Quinta and Sexta can possibly be explained by the political events of 1815, i.e., the non-denominational character was beginning to emerge.

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<sup>2</sup>See, Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.





Table 12:

| Grade   | Catholic   | Protestant | Jewish   | Total |
|---------|------------|------------|----------|-------|
| Prima   | 20(90.9%)  | 2 (9.1%)   | 0        | 22    |
| Secunda | 30(96.8%)  | 1 (3.2%)   | 0        | 31    |
| Tertia  | 53(96.4%)  | 2 (3.6%)   | 0        | 55    |
| Quarta  | 110(92.4%) | 9 (7.6%)   | 0        | 119   |
| Quinta  | 130(87.8%) | 17(11.5%)  | 1 (0.7%) | 148   |
| Sexta   | 101(86.3%) | 15(12.8%)  | 1 (1.0%) | 117   |
| Sum     | 444(90.2%) | 46 (9.3%)  | 2 (0.4%) | 492   |

The exact figures for the Gymnasium of Bromberg are only available for the period 1844-1850:<sup>3</sup>

Table 13:

| Year    | Catholic   | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total | Polish     |
|---------|------------|-------------|------------|-------|------------|
| 1844    | 30 (17.7%) | 146 (76.4%) | 15 ( 7.9%) | 191   | 20 (10.5%) |
| 1845    | 19 ( 9.5%) | 163 (81.9%) | 17 ( 8.5%) | 199   | 15 ( 7.5%) |
| 1846    | 30 (13.3%) | 183 (81.0%) | 13 ( 5.8%) | 226   | 21 ( 9.3%) |
| 1847    | 34 (14.3%) | 182 (76.8%) | 21 ( 8.9%) | 237   | 25 (10.5%) |
| 1848    | 21 ( 8.4%) | 195 (78.0%) | 34 (13.6%) | 250   | 18 ( 7.2%) |
| 1849    | 22 ( 8.9%) | 198 (79.8%) | 28 (11.3%) | 248   | 18 ( 7.3%) |
| 1850    | 26 ( 9.8%) | 209 (79.2%) | 29 (10.1%) | 264   | 16 ( 6.1%) |
| Average | 26 (11.3%) | 182 (79.1%) | 22 ( 9.6%) | 230   | 19 ( 8.3%) |

Here the school's Protestant character becomes obvious; the decrease in the Catholic enrolment after 1847 seems to indicate a changed attitude

<sup>3</sup> Jahresprogramme des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1844-50.



among the Polish/Catholic population. With regard to the correlation of the figures for Catholics on one hand, and Poles on the other, about three percent of the Catholics were German. Compared with the years before 1844, a shift towards more Protestant/German students seems to have occurred, as can be concluded from Breda's account:

As far as nationality is concerned, about two thirds of the students were of German origin, and one third was Polish during the first two decades. The same ratio existed with regard to denominations, except for the fact that about 15 to 20 Germans were of Jewish creed. After the establishment of the gymnasia at Culm and Tremessen there was a steady decline of Polish students, despite a gradual increase in the enrolment figures.<sup>4</sup>

The distribution of the three major religious groups at the Gymnasium of Lissa can be documented over an 18-year period.<sup>5</sup> In 1824, the figures were as follows:

Table 14:

| Grade   | Catholic    | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total |
|---------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| Prima   | 3 (23.1%)   | 6 (46.2%)   | 4 (30.8%)  | 13    |
| Secunda | 4 (21.1%)   | 14 (73.7%)  | 1 ( 5.3%)  | 19    |
| Tertia  | 23 (46.9%)  | 23 (46.9%)  | 3 ( 6.1%)  | 49    |
| Quarta  | 46 (63.0%)  | 24 (32.9%)  | 3 ( 4.1%)  | 73    |
| Quinta  | 44 (62.9%)  | 25 (35.7%)  | 1 ( 1.4%)  | 70    |
| Sexta   | 57 (57.6%)  | 39 (39.4%)  | 3 ( 3.0%)  | 99    |
| Sum     | 177 (54.8%) | 131 (40.6%) | 15 ( 4.6%) | 323   |

<sup>4</sup>Breda, "Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums" in Jahresprogramm des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1867, pp. 37-38.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 18 and 19. Also, Jahresprogramme des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1840 and 1841.



A feature that deserves mentioning is the comparatively low percentage of Catholics in the higher grades, whereas the Jewish students were over-represented at that level; more specifically, of the 177 Catholic students, only 1.7 percent were in Prima, as compared to 4.6 percent of the Protestant and 26.7 percent of the Jewish students. Since the same phenomenon reappears also in subsequent years, an underlying trend can be assumed. The most likely explanation appears to be that Jewish and Protestant students tried more persistently to 'make' the final grades, whereas the rapid decline in actual numbers among Catholic students suggests that they 'dropped out' for whatever reasons, possibly to continue their studies privately or to transfer to another school. The latter reason could be related to the fact that in the last two grades (Secunda and Prima) the language of instruction was German, and perhaps this requirement was easier to meet at a predominantly Catholic school.

Unfortunately, no similar specifications are available for the 314 students attending the school in 1826, of whom 216 (63.3%) were Catholic, 112 (32.8%) Protestant, and 13 (3.8%) Jewish.

Almost the same picture can be presented for 1827: According to another source for the same year, the official number of students was 350, with 180 (51.4%) of them of Polish origin, and 151 (43.1%) German; 19 (5.4%) students came from Jewish families. The figure for non-Polish Catholics was about 6 percent. No significant changes seem to have occurred in 1828: In 1828, 1.3 percent of the Catholic students were in Prima, as compared to 6.8 percent of the Protestant and 14.3 percent of the Jewish boys.



Table 15: (1827)

| Grade   | Catholic    | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total |
|---------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| Prima   | 5 (20.0%)   | 16 (64.0%)  | 4 (16.0%)  | 25    |
| Secunda | 13 (43.3%)  | 15 (50.0%)  | 2 ( 6.7%)  | 30    |
| Tertia  | 53 (58.9%)  | 32 (35.6%)  | 5 ( 5.6%)  | 90    |
| Quarta  | 50 (64.1%)  | 25 (32.1%)  | 3 ( 3.8%)  | 78    |
| Quinta  | 58 (66.7%)  | 27 (31.0%)  | 2 ( 2.3%)  | 87    |
| Sexta   | 73 (65.8%)  | 34 (30.6%)  | 4 ( 3.6%)  | 111   |
| Sum     | 252 (59.8%) | 149 (35.4%) | 20 ( 4.8%) | 421   |

Table 16: (1828)

| Grade   | Catholic    | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total |
|---------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| Prima   | 4 (20.0%)   | 12 (60.0%)  | 4 (20.0%)  | 20    |
| Secunda | 22 (52.4%)  | 19 (45.2%)  | 1 ( 2.4%)  | 42    |
| Tertia  | 53 (58.9%)  | 32 (35.6%)  | 5 ( 5.5%)  | 90    |
| Quarta  | 67 (61.5%)  | 36 (33.0%)  | 6 ( 5.5%)  | 109   |
| Quinta  | 94 (67.0%)  | 37 (22.6%)  | 8 ( 5.8%)  | 139   |
| Sexta   | 58 (56.9%)  | 40 (39.2%)  | 4 ( 3.9%)  | 102   |
| Sum     | 298 (59.4%) | 176 (35.1%) | 28 ( 5.6%) | 502   |

In January 1830, the figures provided were: Out of 370 officially registered students, 186 (50.3%) were Polish, 164 (44.3%) were German, and 20 (5.4%) Jewish. For an unspecified reason those figures were revised and now read 195 (53.0%) Polish, 153 (41.6%) German, and 20 (5.4%) Jewish students.

The two last years for which data on students were available,





were 1840 and 1841. For the former, a total of 256 students consisted of 113 (44.1%) Catholics, 105 (43.6%) Protestants, and 38 (14.8%) Jews. The respective figures for 1841 were: Out of 222 students, 92 (41.1%) Catholics, 97 (43.7%) Protestants, and 33 (14.9%) Jews.

A synopsis of the figures for the Gymnasium of Lissa is given in Table 17:

Table 17:

| Year | Catholic    | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total |
|------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| 1824 | 177 (54.8%) | 131 (40.6%) | 15 ( 4.6%) | 323   |
| 1826 | 216 (63.3%) | 112 (32.8%) | 13 ( 3.8%) | 341   |
| 1827 | 252 (59.8%) | 149 (35.4%) | 20 ( 4.8%) | 421   |
| 1828 | 298 (59.4%) | 176 (35.1%) | 28 ( 5.6%) | 502   |
| 1830 | 185 (53.0%) | 153 (41.6%) | 20 ( 5.4%) | 368   |
| 1840 | 113 (44.1%) | 105 (41.0%) | 38 (14.8%) | 256   |
| 1841 | 92 (41.4%)  | 97 (43.7%)  | 33 (14.9%) | 222   |

First of all, the year 1830 might have been a crucial one, in that the number of Catholic students began to decline markedly; the decrease was also noticable in percentage-figures, whereas the two other denominations remained at approximately the same level or even increased their shares. A possible explanation is the establishment of the Gymnasium of Tremessen in 1840, and a number of Catholic students might have chosen to attend a Catholic gymnasium.

Looking now at the three schools comparatively, conclusions have to be offered most cautiously due to the lack of reliable statistics. With respect to the Marien-Gymnasium, its strongly Catholic nature in 1816



begs the question, where the Protestant students received their education in the absence of any other gymnasium in the Grand Duchy; a possible answer is that during the very early years German-speaking gymnasia outside the Grand Duchy had to be attended, unless private instruction was available.

The establishment of the Gymnasium of Bromberg might have been an attempt to solve this problem, and its strongly German character was apparently maintained throughout the years and became stronger even towards the end of the period under discussion.

The Gymnasium of Lissa reflected at least during the early years the denominational distribution of the province's population and was by no means a 'Protestant' gymnasium with respect to the majority of students attending the school. It was obviously the 'withdrawal' of Catholic students in later years that gave the school a 'Protestant/German' character.

(b) The Denominational or Ethnic Changes at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium of Tremessen, and the Realschule Meseritz

The schools established during the period 1830-40 will be considered next, and due to their more 'recent' origin, the respective data are more complete and thereby more conclusive.

The Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Posen was, as will be shown, a predominantly Protestant school; but here, as well, some changes can be observed.<sup>6</sup> Although the individual figures refer to the students admitted in the respective years and thereby do not indicate the overall ratio of the various denominations' representation

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<sup>6</sup> Schulakten des Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium zu Posen,  
Sygn. 41. State Archive of Poznan.



Table 18:

| Year | Catholic   | Protestant  | Jewish     | Total |
|------|------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| 1834 | 16 ( 9.7%) | 124 (75.2%) | 25 (15.2%) | 165   |
| 1835 | 9 (11.4%)  | 58 (73.2%)  | 12 (15.2%) | 79    |
| 1836 | 5 (10.0%)  | 32 (64.0%)  | 13 (26.0%) | 50    |
| 1837 | 9 (18.4%)  | 29 (59.2%)  | 11 (22.4%) | 49    |
| 1838 | 10 (20.0%) | 30 (60.0%)  | 10 (20.0%) | 50    |
| 1839 | 7 (15.9%)  | 29 (65.9%)  | 8 (18.2%)  | 44    |
| 1840 | 8 (13.8%)  | 36 (62.1%)  | 14 (24.1%) | 58    |
| 1841 | 16 (23.2%) | 35 (50.7%)  | 18 (26.1%) | 69    |
| 1842 | 13 (20.0%) | 37 (56.9%)  | 15 (23.1%) | 65    |
| 1843 | 11 (26.9%) | 41 (63.1%)  | 13 (20.0%) | 65    |
| 1844 | 26 (23.2%) | 70 (62.5%)  | 16 (14.3%) | 112   |
| 1845 | 23 (16.3%) | 68 (43.2%)  | 50 (35.5%) | 141   |
| 1846 | 45 (30.6%) | 62 (42.2%)  | 40 (27.1%) | 147   |
| 1847 | 33 (28.0%) | 47 (39.8%)  | 38 (32.2%) | 118   |
| 1848 | 8 ( 8.9%)  | 44 (48.9%)  | 38 (42.2%) | 90    |
| 1849 | 7 ( 5.6%)  | 60 (55.2%)  | 49 (39.2%) | 125   |
| 1850 | 14 ( 9.8%) | 67 (46.9%)  | 62 (43.4%) | 143   |

at the school each year, the data indicate a rather low enrolment of Catholic students. Protestant students by far outweigh the other two groups, of which the high percentage of Jewish students is striking, particularly in 1848 and after. During those three years, on the other hand, the Catholic enrolment dropped sharply.

The most 'Catholic' gymnasium during the period under discussion was certainly the one at Tremessen, as the figures for the



years 1841-1850 show:<sup>7</sup>

Table 19:

| Year | Catholic    | Protestant | Jewish    | Total |
|------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------|
| 1841 | 239 (93.0%) | 15 (5.8%)  | 3 (1.2%)  | 257   |
| 1842 | 248 (92.5%) | 16 (6.0%)  | 4 (1.5%)  | 268   |
| 1843 | 254 (92.4%) | 16 (5.8%)  | 5 (1.8%)  | 275   |
| 1844 | 248 (91.5%) | 18 (6.6%)  | 5 (1.9%)  | 271   |
| 1845 | 305 (91.0%) | 18 (5.4%)  | 12 (3.6%) | 335   |
| 1846 | 297 (90.1%) | 15 (4.6%)  | 15 (4.6%) | 327   |
| 1847 | 248 (91.5%) | 12 (4.4%)  | 11 (4.1%) | 271   |
| 1848 | 204 (91.1%) | 10 (4.5%)  | 10 (4.5%) | 224   |
| 1849 | 315 (94.0%) | 12 (3.6%)  | 8 (2.4%)  | 335   |
| 1850 | 331 (93.2%) | 13 (3.7%)  | 11 (3.1%) | 355   |

During the ten years, only minor changes can be noticed, and the only remarkable event happened in 1848 when the school had to be closed "because of the unrest in the province" from late March until mid-June; probably much to the displeasure of students and teachers, no summer-holidays were granted. Nonetheless, when the school was re-opened, the enrolment-figure had dropped from 334 at the beginning of the school-year, to 224.<sup>8</sup>

The Realschule of Meseritz had been founded as early as 1833, but only in 1839 was the full status granted. The following figures

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<sup>7</sup> Jahresprogramme des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1841-1850.

<sup>8</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1848.





therefore go back to 1833, and as in the case of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, only the newly enrolled students could be listed.<sup>9</sup>

Table 20:

| Year | Catholic   | Protestants | Jewish     | Total |
|------|------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| 1833 | 11 (18.6%) | 46 (69.7%)  | 9 (13.6%)  | 66    |
| 1834 | 7 (18.9%)  | 25 (67.6%)  | 5 (13.5%)  | 37    |
| 1835 | 6 (18.9%)  | 26 (76.5%)  | 2 ( 5.9%)  | 34    |
| 1836 | 6 (12.8%)  | 37 (78.7%)  | 4 ( 8.5%)  | 47    |
| 1837 | 18 (30.0%) | 35 (58.3%)  | 7 (11.7%)  | 60    |
| 1838 | 26 (35.1%) | 45 (60.8%)  | 3 ( 4.1%)  | 74    |
| 1839 | 14 (25.5%) | 35 (63.6%)  | 6 (10.9%)  | 55    |
| 1840 | 7 (14.6%)  | 29 (70.7%)  | 6 (14.6%)  | 41    |
| 1841 | 6 (17.6%)  | 17 (50.0%)  | 11 (32.4%) | 34    |
| 1842 | 5 (14.7%)  | 27 (79.4%)  | 2 ( 5.9%)  | 34    |
| 1843 | 17 (29.8%) | 26 (45.6%)  | 14 (24.6%) | 57    |
| 1844 | 7 (13.5%)  | 37 (71.2%)  | 8 (15.4%)  | 52    |
| 1845 | 4 (10.5%)  | 32 (84.2%)  | 2 ( 5.3%)  | 38    |
| 1846 | 7 (21.2%)  | 20 (60.6%)  | 6 (18.2%)  | 33    |
| 1847 | 2 ( 4.9%)  | 36 (87.8%)  | 5 (12.2%)  | 41    |
| 1848 | 4 ( 9.8%)  | 31 (75.6%)  | 6 (14.6%)  | 41    |
| 1849 | 7 (12.7%)  | 45 (81.8%)  | 3 ( 5.5%)  | 55    |
| 1850 | 5 (10.0%)  | 35 (70.0%)  | 10 (20.0%) | 50    |

<sup>9</sup>Hermann Polte, "Beitraege zur Statistik der frueheren Realschule zu Meseritz", in: Programm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Meseritz, 1869. The 'Total'-figures are adjusted in a few cases, since the figures in Polte's statistics also include the category 'others'; the difference with the present figures is one to two students per year.



The only definitive statement that can be made is the dominance of Protestant students throughout the years, whereas Catholic and Jewish students vary equally to almost the same extent. One possible explanation for the numerous shifts of enrolment-maxima and minima is the comparatively subordinate status with respect to scholarly prestige that was characteristic of the Realschule in those years. Social mobility accruing from educational qualifications was largely offered by the gymnasia, since they alone provided access to the prestigious studies at the university-level. For this reason, the Realschule was generally considered a second choice only by parents who wanted their sons to have a better education. The lower prestige was even intensified by the frequent transfer of students who could not 'make' the gymnasium, to the Realschule, since the latter offered a more practical programme. As discussed before, practicality was considered to have its worth, but it clearly ranked below intellectual prowess. On the other hand, there were also graduates (Abiturienten) of the Realschule who could fully compete at the university with graduates from the gymnasia.<sup>10</sup> This 'second-choice' character might have influenced the enrolment-figures in that, apart from the population living in the immediate neighbourhood of Meseritz, especially Catholic and Jewish parents would rather send their sons to a gymnasium.

Two comments from the 1842 and the 1848-annual programmes of the school possibly suggest another reason for Polish parents to avoid the Meseritz-school. For instance, the instruction of July 1842 stated

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<sup>10</sup> Rudolf Marg. Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Meseritz (Meseritz: Buchdruckerei von P. Matthias, 1883), pp. 17-19. Supplement to the Annual Programme of 1883.



that no changes with regard to the language of instruction, namely German, was to be considered, since the school was almost exclusively attended by German students. The Realschule was thus given the same language-status as the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium of Bromberg. Even more explicitly was the political orientation of the school captured in the account given of the revolutionary events in 1848. Here the programme stated,

We can be completely satisfied with the moral behaviour of our students. When during the first unsettled days the militia was summoned, the older students joined immediately; but after the lessons were resumed in May 1848, they returned from their service, and they now undergo some military training as a constituent of their instruction in physical education.<sup>11</sup>

(c) The Denominational or Ethnic Changes in Ostrowo and Krotoschin

The Gymnasium of Ostrowo existed for only five years during the period under discussion, and, as mentioned before, its Polish/Catholic orientation was very pronounced. This claim is substantiated by the enrolment-figures:<sup>12</sup>

Table 21:

| Year | Catholic    | Protestant | Jewish     | Total |
|------|-------------|------------|------------|-------|
| 1846 | 127 (76.0%) | 28 (16.8%) | 12 ( 7.2%) | 167   |
| 1847 | 126 (68.5%) | 41 (22.3%) | 17 ( 9.2%) | 184   |
| 1848 | 120 (65.9%) | 43 (23.6%) | 19 (19.4%) | 182   |
| 1849 | 139 (71.6%) | 39 (20.1%) | 16 ( 8.2%) | 194   |
| 1850 | 133 (62.2%) | 40 (19.6%) | 31 (15.2%) | 204   |

<sup>11</sup> Jahresprogramm der Realschule zu Meseritz, 1848.

<sup>12</sup> Jahresprogramme des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1846-1850.



It is impossible to generalize on the basis of the data, and only the increase among the Jewish students, accompanied by a relative decrease of Catholics, appears to be remarkable. Probably the legislation for greater emancipation of the Jewish population encouraged parents to a greater degree to give their sons a better education. The figures for the other schools, especially of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, seem to corroborate this contention.

Although the events in 1848 did little to influence the enrolment-pattern, the school had to be closed from March to May, similar to Tremessen, and an additional period of time elapsed until lessons could be fully resumed. At this point it also deserves mentioning that the programme of 1850 clearly stated that almost all the Catholic students were of Polish, and all the Protestant students of German origin. A specification for the denominational distribution among the various grades is only available for 1850:

Table 22:

| Grade           | Catholic         | Protestant        | Jewish     | Total     |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|
| Prima           | 9 (90.0%)        | 1 (10.0%)         | 0          | 10        |
| Secunda         | 12 (70.6%)       | 3 (17.6%)         | 2 (11.8%)  | 17        |
| Tertia          | 36 (75.0%)       | 7 (14.6%)         | 5 (10.4%)  | 48        |
| Quarta          | 26 (68.4%)       | 7 (18.4%)         | 5 (13.2%)  | 38        |
| Quinta (Polish) | 18 (94.7%)       | 1 ( 5.3%)         | 0          | 19        |
| Quinta (German) | 1 ( 5.9%)        | 9 (52.9%)         | 7 (41.2%)  | 17        |
| Sexta (Polish)  | 27 (96.4%)       | 1 ( 3.4%)         | 0          | 28        |
| Sexta (German)  | <u>4 (14.8%)</u> | <u>11 (40.7%)</u> | <u>12</u>  | <u>27</u> |
|                 | 133 (65.2%)      | 40 (19.6%)        | 31 (15.2%) | 204       |





Significant here is the above-average representation of Catholic students in the upper grades, contrary to the two other religious groups who are under-represented. Also, the fact that Jewish students preferred to attend the German streams in Sexta and Quinta appears to be remarkable.

The final school to be discussed is the Realschule of Kroto-  
schin which was officially established in 1849 only. But in order to  
more fully outline the denominational and/or ethnic orientation of the  
school, statistical data for the pre-1849 period will be included.<sup>13</sup>

Table 23:

| Year | Catholic   | Polish     | Protestant | German      | Jewish     | Total |
|------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------|
| 1836 | 33 (37.5%) | 28 (31.8%) | 41 (46.6%) | 60 (68.2%)  | 14 (15.9%) | 88    |
| 1837 | 38 (37.6%) | 37 (36.6%) | 49 (48.5%) | 64 (63.4%)  | 14 (13.9%) | 101   |
| 1838 | 52 (44.1%) | 49 (41.5%) | 56 (47.5%) | 69 (58.5%)  | 10 ( 8.5%) | 118   |
| 1839 | 41 (33.6%) | 40 (32.8%) | 66 (54.1%) | 82 (67.2%)  | 15 (12.3%) | 122   |
| 1840 | 39 (32.8%) | 34 (28.6%) | 64 (53.8%) | 85 (71.4%)  | 16 (13.4%) | 119   |
| 1841 | 41 (34.7%) | 41 (34.7%) | 51 (43.2%) | 77 (65.3%)  | 26 (22.0%) | 118   |
| 1842 | 34 (27.9%) | 30 (24.6%) | 57 (46.7%) | 92 (75.4%)  | 31 (25.4%) | 122   |
| 1843 | 34 (27.9%) | 33 (27.0%) | 69 (56.6%) | 89 (73.0%)  | 19 (15.6%) | 122   |
| 1844 | 27 (22.1%) | 26 (21.3%) | 71 (58.2%) | 96 (78.7%)  | 24 (19.7%) | 122   |
| 1845 | 23 (19.5%) | 17 (14.4%) | 72 (61.0%) | 101 (85.6%) | 23 (19.5%) | 112   |
| 1846 | 29 (25.9%) | 26 (23.2%) | 55 (49.1%) | 86 (76.8%)  | 28 (25.0%) | 112   |
| 1847 | 29 (21.5%) | 22 (16.3%) | 74 (54.8%) | 113 (93.7%) | 32 (23.7%) | 135   |
| 1848 | 14 (10.1%) | 11 ( 8.0%) | 91 (65.9%) | 127 (92.0%) | 33 (23.9%) | 138   |
| 1849 | 18 (11.9%) | 13 ( 8.6%) | 95 (62.9%) | 138 (91.5%) | 40 (26.2%) | 151   |
| 1850 | 18 (11.8%) | 13 ( 8.5%) | 95 (62.1%) | 140 (91.5%) | 40 (26.1%) | 153   |
| Av.  | 31 (25.2%) | 28 (22.8%) | 67 (54.5%) | 95 (77.2%)  | 24 (19.5%) | 123   |

<sup>13</sup> Gottlieb Leuchtenberger, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Krotoschin (Krotoschin: Friedrich A. Kosmael, 1886).



Some specific aspects deserve mentioning, although one has to keep in mind that most of the data presented refer to the status of a county-school and as such cannot directly be compared to the rest of the figures presented in the present chapter.

Firstly, the Catholic enrolment declined over the years, especially in 1848 and after; on the other hand, the Protestant-figure increased correspondingly. Secondly, a comparison of the 'Polish' and 'Catholic'-figures, and the 'German' and 'Protestant'-figures shows some interesting features: Approximately three percent of the Catholics were obviously non-Polish, and here the percentage given in Table 13 is practically identical. As far as the Jewish students are concerned, they were here statistically treated as Germans, which can be explained by the date of the presentation of the above statistics, namely 1886: The practice of treating the Jewish population in the Grand Duchy statistically as Germans was begun in 1848.

The only other information on the student-body's composition could be found in the 1849-annual programme, in that there was no Polish student in the upper grade (Prima), and there existed no Polish and German 'streams' in the lower grades. Thus, at the time when the school was officially designated as a Realschule, it had become a predominantly Protestant institution.

The following overview of the data presented so far for the eight schools will attempt to draw the various trends and developments during the entire 1815-50 period together; the scarcity of information on the early years has, however, to be re-emphasized. The schools will



be grouped according to their predominant religious orientation, and following the sequence 'Catholic', 'Protestant', and 'Jewish' is intended to follow the pattern used in all the previous tables.

Table 24:

| School     | Average/Catholic | Average/Protestant | Average/Jewish |
|------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Tremessen  | 92.0%            | 5.0%               | 2.9%           |
| Posen I    | 90.2%            | 9.3%               | 0.4%           |
| Ostrowo    | 68.8%            | 20.5%              | 10.0%          |
| Lissa      | 53.6%            | 33.5%              | 7.7%           |
| Krotoschin | 26.6%            | 54.1%              | 19.3%          |
| Meseritz   | 17.4%            | 68.5%              | 12.9%          |
| Posen II   | 17.2%            | 57.3%              | 26.1%          |
| Bromberg   | 11.8%            | 79.0%              | 9.4%           |

The three 'Catholic' schools show a clear dominance of Catholic students, the same as the 'Protestant' schools reflect their denominational status also in the denominational distribution of the students enrolled. As the various tables of the present chapter, however, indicate this was a rather gradual process, i.e., the schools in their denominational/ethnic character apparently responded to the emerging differentiation of the Grand Duchy's population into 'groups' with different expectations as far as the functions of the schools are concerned. The three schools which form a 'transitional' stage, namely Ostrowo, Lissa, and Krotoschin were nonetheless committed in their orientation to Catholic/Polish (Ostrowo), or Protestant/German (Krotoschin) values, with the Gymnasium of Lissa occupying a somewhat 'ideal' position in that it most accurately reflected the proportional distri-





bution of the three religious groups in the Grand Duchy, although this character began, as will be remembered, to wane after 1848.

As the figures further suggest, Catholic parents seemed to prefer sending their sons to 'their' schools to a greater extent than 'Protestant' parents insisted on the attendance of 'Protestant' schools; in other words, Protestant students were more evenly distributed among the eight schools than the Catholic students. A likely explanation is the fact that German was the language of instruction in the upper grades in all the schools, and with the exception of the Gymnasium of Ostrowo (during the first few years), German students thus had the chance of using their vernacular throughout their studies in Protestant as well as Catholic schools.

With regard to Jewish students, they apparently preferred, in the absence of Jewish institutions, to attend German/Protestant schools rather than Polish/Catholic ones. Here, again, the issue of the language of instruction might have been operative most strongly in that the importance given to language by Polish people as a means for maintaining a national identity, was less vital for the Jewish population. With German being the national language, there was obviously no need for Jewish people to defend the use of Polish since they did not have a stake in Polish society, anyways. And with the increasing emancipation promised and granted to some degree by the Prussian government, the individual Jew's chances of being allowed to move into the old Prussian provinces grew considerably, thus establishing another good reason for preferring German over Polish.

A salient aspect, however, which has been mentioned before





and which appears to be most pertinent to the topic of the present study, is the suggestion derived from the data presented above, namely that the establishment of national (or ethnic/denominational) identities in the Grand Duchy did not happen all of a sudden in the crucial years of 1846 to 1849, but gradually developed during the entire 1815-1850 period, and here the secondary school at least played a part as foci of common cultural values in a wide sense, including patterns of political behaviour, thought, and feeling. That they could only function in this capacity as a constituent part of overall socio-political developments needs no further comment.

(d) The Denominational or Ethnic Distribution Among Graduates (Abiturienten)

Whereas the previous discussion suffered to some extent from the scarcity of information especially during the early years of the nineteenth century, a more reliable assessment of trends and changes in education can be offered with regard to the graduates of the secondary schools. Here the data available are more complete. According to Wiese,<sup>14</sup> 728 students passed the Abitur in those years, of whom 702 have been included in the present study.

With regard to the graduates' denomination, information exists for 524 students: Comparing these figures with the ones presented in Table 24, the strong congruence for the schools at Bromberg, Tremessen, and Ostrowo is obvious. With regard to the Marien-Gymnasium (Posen I), the previously assumed non-denominalization after

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<sup>14</sup>L. Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen (Berlin: Verlag von Wiegand und Grieben, 1864), Vol. 1, p. 412 passim.



Table 25:

| School     | Catholic graduates | Protest. graduates | Jewish graduates | Total |
|------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------|
| Posen I    | 118 (77.1%)        | 27 (17.7%)         | 8 ( 5.2%)        | 153   |
| Bromberg   | 17 (19.3%)         | 69 (78.4%)         | 2 ( 2.3%)        | 88    |
| Lissa      | 47 (36.2%)         | 63 (48.9%)         | 20 (15.4%)       | 130   |
| Posen II   | 2 (11.1%)          | 15 (83.3%)         | 1 ( 5.6%)        | 18    |
| Tremessen  | 66 (91.7%)         | 4 ( 5.6%)          | 2 ( 2.8%)        | 72    |
| Ostrowo    | 7 ( 63.4%)         | 3 (27.3%)          | 1 ( 9.1%)        | 11    |
| Meseritz   | 7 (14.9%)          | 38 (80.9%)         | 2 ( 4.3%)        | 47    |
| Krotoschin | 0                  | 4 (80.0%)          | 1 (20.0%)        | 5     |
| Sum        | 264 (50.1%)        | 223 (42.6%)        | 37 ( 7.1%)       | 524   |

1816 is reflected in Table 25 by the numbers of Protestant and Jewish graduates. Also the tendency discussed in the context of the Lissa-school, namely that Catholic students were underrepresented in the upper grades, can be confirmed by the distribution of the graduates from this school. The two Realschulen show different characteristics: Meseritz shows a greater number of Protestant graduates than might be expected from the figures in Table 24, at the expense of Jewish students. Conversely, Krotoschin shows the same pattern, however at the expense of Catholic students. The figures for the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium are not quite conclusive, due to the fact that the sample of graduates is too small; especially the Jewish students appear to be underrepresented. As far as the proportional distribution is concerned, it deserves mentioning that the ethnic composition of the Grand Duchy's population is almost adequately reflected in the denominational affiliation of the graduates of the eight schools.



(e) Occupational Aspirations Among Graduates

The graduates' intended field of study or envisaged future occupation is of significance for the present study because the intended occupational goal, or the aspiration-level of the individual student would indicate the professional avenues open to him, but also his assessment of his chances for a future career. In other words, if, for instance, a Jewish graduate saw no future in studying state-law because his chances for future employment might be minimal for a variety of reasons, this realization would definitely influence his choice of the field of study. From this point of view, the kind of studies not chosen by a particular group of students can be as informative as the actual decision. As will be documented later on in the present chapter, the socio-economic background of the majority of the students was such that post-secondary education of the graduates normally meant upward social mobility.

The following tables will provide the information available for the graduates of the individual schools; the figures given in brackets give the total number of students who intended to study a specific subject, but whose denomination is not know.

At the Marien-Gymnasium, a total of 212 students had graduated by 1850, and of the 142 accounted for with respect to denomination and area of study, the following fields were chosen:<sup>15</sup>

Table 26:

| Faculty   | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total  |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|------|--------|
| Philology | 10        | 4           | 2    | 16(23) |

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<sup>15</sup>Cf. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 20, 1257, and 14; see also the school-programmes 1815-1850.



|                  |     |    |   |          |
|------------------|-----|----|---|----------|
| Theology         | 60  | 3  | 0 | 63(73)   |
| Law              | 23  | 11 | 1 | 35(66)   |
| Medicine         | 10  | 3  | 5 | 18(26)   |
| Mathematics      | 3   | 2  | 0 | 5        |
| Natural Sciences | 1   | 1  | 0 | 2        |
| Philosophy       | 1   | 1  | 0 | 2        |
| Economics        | 1   | 0  | 0 | 1        |
| Sum              | 109 | 25 | 8 | 142(198) |

For the Gymnasium of Bromberg, the figures are as follows:<sup>16</sup>

Table 27:

| Faculty     | Catholics | Protestant | Jews | Total   |
|-------------|-----------|------------|------|---------|
| Philology   | 2         | 4          | 0    | 6       |
| Theology    | 2         | 14         | 0    | 16(19)  |
| Law         | 9         | 40         | 0    | 49(62)  |
| Medicine    | 2         | 3          | 1    | 6( 8)   |
| Mathematics | 0         | 1          | 0    | 1       |
| History     | 0         | 2          | 1    | 3       |
| Forestry    | 0         | 1          | 0    | 1( 3)   |
| Others      | 0         | 2          | 0    | 2       |
| Sum         | 15        | 67         | 2    | 84(104) |

<sup>16</sup>W. Bruck (ed.), Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817-1927, nebst Anhang: Verzeichnis ehemaliger Schueler und Schuelerinnen hoeherer Lehranstalten der Provinz Posen. (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Gebrueder Hoffmann, 1929). Further information was available in Breda, "Geschichte des Bromberger Gymnasiums" in Programm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1867, pp. 39-47.





The next table refers to the Gymnasium of Lissa:<sup>17</sup>

Table 28:

| Faculty          | Catholics | Protestant | Jews | Total    |
|------------------|-----------|------------|------|----------|
| Philology        | 4         | 8          | 4    | 16(23)   |
| Theology         | 22        | 26         | 2    | 50(55)   |
| Law              | 17        | 19         | 1    | 37(53)   |
| Medicine         | 2         | 9          | 10   | 21(33)   |
| Mathematics      | 0         | 0          | 1    | 1        |
| Philosophy       | 0         | 0          | 0    | 0( 1)    |
| Forestry         | 1         | 0          | 0    | 1        |
| Oriental Studies | 0         | 0          | 1    | 1        |
| Others           | 1         | 1          | 0    | 2( 3)    |
| Sum              | 47        | 63         | 19   | 129(171) |

Out of the 59 graduates of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, only 18 could be specified:<sup>18</sup>

Table 29:

| Faculty   | Catholics | Protestant | Jews | Total |
|-----------|-----------|------------|------|-------|
| Philology | 1         | 3          | 0    | 4(15) |
| Theology  | 0         | 5          | 0    | 5( 6) |

<sup>17</sup> Alfred von Sanden, Zur Geschichte der Lissaer Schule, 1555-1905 (Lissa: Friedrich Ebbeckes Verlag, 1905), pp. 78-92, and Acta Gimnazjum, w Lesznia Sygn. 7, 13, and 18. Further information was available in the various school-programmes.

<sup>18</sup> School-programmes of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1838-1850 and Schulakten des Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums, Sygn. 179. Further information was available in H. Starke, Geschichte des Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums.



|             |   |    |   |         |
|-------------|---|----|---|---------|
| Law         | 1 | 5  | 0 | 6 (28)  |
| Medicine    | 0 | 2  | 1 | 3 ( 8)  |
| Mathematics | 0 | 0  | 0 | 0 ( 1)  |
| History     | 0 | 0  | 0 | 0 ( 1)  |
| Sum         | 2 | 15 | 1 | 18 (59) |

The list of the graduates of the Gymnasium of Tremessen is complete:<sup>19</sup>

Table 30:

| Faculty          | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total |
|------------------|-----------|-------------|------|-------|
| Philology        | 5         | 1           | 0    | 6     |
| Theology         | 48        | 0           | 0    | 48    |
| Law              | 10        | 2           | 0    | 12    |
| Medicine         | 1         | 1           | 2    | 4     |
| Philosophy       | 1         | 0           | 0    | 1     |
| Natural Sciences | 1         | 0           | 0    | 1     |
| Sum              | 66        | 4           | 2    | 72    |

Of the Gymnasium of Ostrowo, 11 out of 13 graduates could be specified:<sup>20</sup>

Table 31:

| Faculty    | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total |
|------------|-----------|-------------|------|-------|
| Philology  | 4         | 0           | 0    | 4     |
| Theology   | 1         | 0           | 0    | 1     |
| Law        | 1         | 1           | 1    | 3     |
| Medicine   | 1         | 0           | 0    | 1     |
| Philosophy | 0         | 0           | 0    | 0(1)  |
| Forestry   | 0         | 0           | 0    | 0(1)  |

<sup>19</sup> Jahresprogramme des Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1842-1850.

<sup>20</sup> Schulakten des Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, Sygn. 7. See also  
Jahresprogramme des Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1846-1850.



|        |   |   |   |        |
|--------|---|---|---|--------|
| Others | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2      |
| Sum    | 7 | 3 | 1 | 11(13) |

For the Realschule Meseritz, also a complete list can be provided:<sup>21</sup>

Table 32:

| Faculty     | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|------|-------|
| Philology   | 1         | 3           | 0    | 4     |
| Theology    | 1         | 0           | 0    | 1     |
| Medicine    | 0         | 0           | 1    | 1     |
| Philosophy  | 0         | 0           | 1    | 1     |
| Mathematics | 0         | 2           | 0    | 2     |
| Forestry    | 0         | 3           | 0    | 3     |
| Engineering | 3         | 14          | 0    | 17    |
| Others      | 2         | 11          | 0    | 13    |
| Sum         | 7         | 37          | 2    | 46    |

The Realschule of Krotoschin had five graduates only:

Table 33:

| Faculty     | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|------|-------|
| Engineering | 0         | 4           | 1    | 5     |

In order to provide a more comprehensive picture, the individual schools' data will now be summarized:

Table 34:

| Faculty   | Catholics | Protestants | Jews | Total    |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|------|----------|
| Philology | 27        | 23          | 6    | 56( 81)  |
| Theology  | 134       | 48          | 2    | 184(203) |

<sup>21</sup>Jahresprogramme der Realschule Meseritz, 1839-1850.



|                  |     |     |    |          |
|------------------|-----|-----|----|----------|
| Law              | 61  | 78  | 3  | 142(224) |
| Medicine         | 16  | 18  | 20 | 54( 81)  |
| Philosophy       | 2   | 1   | 1  | 4( 6)    |
| History          | 0   | 2   | 1  | 3( 4)    |
| Mathematics      | 3   | 5   | 1  | 9( 10)   |
| Natural Sciences | 2   | 1   | 0  | 3( 3)    |
| Forestry         | 1   | 4   | 0  | 5( 8)    |
| Agriculture      | 0   | 4   | 0  | 4( 4)    |
| Engineering      | 3   | 18  | 1  | 22( 22)  |
| Economics        | 1   | 0   | 0  | 1( 1)    |
| Oriental Studies | 0   | 0   | 1  | 1( 1)    |
| Others           | 3   | 16  | 0  | 19( 20)  |
| Sum              | 253 | 218 | 36 | 507(668) |

One of the most immediate impressions one gets from the figures presented above is the predominance of the 'classical' professions, i.e., of theology, law, and philology, but also of medicine. Those four areas of study comprise 94.1 percent of all the graduates and thus indicate where the students of the Grand Duchy most strongly hoped for future employment: The Church, the State, and the School. Medicine was at that time a relative 'new-comer' as an academic field of study, and more comments will be made later on.

Among Catholic students, theology ranged first, and apart from purely religious reasons, there was the financial support given by the Church to students who promised to become priests, there was the dearth of clergymen in the province, and there was, finally, the political identification of the Catholic Church and the Polish national





cause. Last but not least, the fact that a Catholic seminary existed right in the city of Posen must have been a strong economic incentive for many students and their parents to choose theology over studies that required living away from home. The study of law and state-law held second place, and here the chances for entering the upper echelons of the civil service were apparently considered to be fair. The frequently emphasized need for teachers in secondary schools who had been brought up in the Grand Duchy, seems to have prompted a good number of students to study philology, but also mathematics and natural sciences. But also some of those who studied theology could become teachers as well. The relatively low number of students of medicine can best be explained by the fact that during the first half of the century the natural sciences were only gradually accepted as reputable areas of study, and medical studies also benefited from the biologization that had begun even to affect philosophical and anthropological theories.<sup>22</sup> Here the 'cultural lag' between the concept of science, as it was still perceived by the schools (and universities), and the emergence of a new paradigm of science as it was conquering the minds of the 'educated', might best explain the low rating of medicine in relation to the 'classical' studies, but also its emergence as an academic discipline.

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<sup>22</sup>The idea of the organismic nature of the state and of society emerged in Germany with Hegel and Schelling, and a further strong influence was exercised by J.C. Bluntschli. This conception, however, was more fully developed in the second half of the century, e.g. by Schaeffle. For a discussion of this point see H.E. Barnes and H. Becker, Social Thought from Lore to Science (Washington: Harren Press, 1952), Vol. 1, pp. 677-85. In the Grand Duchy, philosophers like Libelt and Krolikowski, just to name two of them, followed the same idea in their discussion of the 'national soul' or the 'collective consciousness'.



Similar comments could be made with respect to Protestant graduates; here, however, the study of law and state law (including the so-called Kameralwissenschaften) ranked highest, probably due to the proclivity of the state to staff its administration with a fair number of jurists. Theology and philology (including to some extent the study of history, mathematics and natural sciences) followed next, with medicine occupying about the same position among Protestants as has been discussed in the context of the Catholic students' choices. The relatively great number of engineering students can probably be attributed to the location of the two Realschulen in 'German' counties, thereby appealing for very practical reasons first of all to the people living close to the schools. As has been mentioned before, the schools' curricula were geared towards more practice-oriented professions, and for this reason the Protestant pattern of fields of studies shows a slightly more 'practical' bent.

Jewish students seemed to see little chances in theology, law, and philology, and their high representation in medical studies--at least 56 percent chose medicine as their field of study--can be explained by their traditionally limited civic rights that would make employment by the state and the Church improbable.

The analysis of intended areas of studies will be more thorough when now the graduates are not only grouped according to denominations, but the entire 1815-1850 period is subdivided into the subperiods as they have already been used in the present study. In this way, shifts in the pattern of university-studies can emerge. Only the four 'professional' studies will be considered. Additionally, all



those whose intended field of studies is known, but whose denominations have not been specified, will tentatively be allotted to the three religious groups, whenever their names allow for such a decision; in this way the samples will become bigger.

Table 35:

| Period    | Theology | Law      | Philology | Medicine | No. of students |
|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------------|
|           | Ca Pr Je | Ca Pr Je | Ca Pr Je  | Ca Pr Je | Ca Pr Je        |
| 1815-1830 | 8 16 0   | 18 38 3  | 4 7 1     | 2 2 6    | 32 63 10        |
| 1831-1844 | 42 24 0  | 18 41 3  | 15 14 2   | 9 10 14  | 84 99 19        |
| 1841-1850 | 95 19 2  | 47 59 3  | 116 17 6  | 10 15 15 | 168 110 26      |
| Sum       | 145 59 2 | 83 138 9 | 35 38 9   | 21 27 35 | 284 272 55      |

Catholic students made up 31 percent of the 105 graduates of the first period, 42 percent of the 202 graduates of the second period, and 55 percent of the 304 graduates of the third period. The respective figures for Protestants are 60 percent, 49 percent, and 36 percent; for Jews they were 10 percent, 9 percent, and 9 percent. Thus there was a steady increase in absolute and in relative terms among Catholic graduates, accompanied by a relative decrease among Protestant graduates; the Jewish figures shown an increase in absolute terms, but were relatively stable.

Among Catholic students, the study of theology increased in popularity throughout the years, the same as philology, although at a more moderate rate. The relatively highest enrolment in the faculty of law was during the 1815-1830 period, with a 'low' during the years 1831-40.





Protestant students showed steady increases in the study of philology and medicine, whereas enrolment for theology and law varied in relative terms, with a slight downward trend in theology; in absolute figures, the study of law dominated throughout the years.

As mentioned before, the study of medicine was the most highly favoured objective among Jewish graduates, and their interest remained almost unchanged during the three periods. Similar, though more modest increases can be observed in the study of philology, while the popularity of law decreased steadily in relative terms.

#### (f) The Graduates and the Choice of Universities

Closely linked to the field of study was the choice of suitable universities. As will be argued, a number of reasons can be expected to have influenced the choice, in that not only the reputation of a given institution in a specific area of studies was operative, but that economic as well as political aspects in a wider sense proved to be important as well. Also parental ideas about the desirability of a specific choice can be assumed to have played their part, as could be witnessed in the case of the aforementioned police-commissioner of Posen, Holland, whose son intended to make his own decision, rather than follow his father's suggestions. The political rationale was clearly evident in the case just mentioned; economic aspects might be expected whenever the decision had to be made whether the place of study should be one of the Prussian universities, away from home, or in Posen itself, i.e., at the seminary for Catholic priests. In this way, material incentives, including bursaries granted by the Church, can be assumed to have had their effect. To what extent the choice of





Posen was also politically motivated, will have to be examined more closely in the following discussion. Most importantly, however, were the activities of the Marcinkowski-Association geared towards assisting Polish students in their studies at German universities, and the socio-political objectives of such a measure cannot be doubted.

The following tables list the individual schools and the choice of their graduates, subdivided into the three major periods used in the present study. The percentages given refer to the total number of students that are included in the list.

Table 36: (Marien-Gymnasium, 191 students)

| University  | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| Breslau     | 20 (10%)  | 23 (12%)  | 13 ( 7%)  | 56    | 20    | 11       | 1   |
| Berlin      | 20 (10%)  | 25 (13%)  | 20 (10%)  | 65    | 23    | 9        | 7   |
| Posen       | 0         | 28 (15%)  | 22 (12%)  | 50    | 50    | 0        | 0   |
| Bonn        | 2 ( 1%)   | 1 (.5%)   | 5 ( 3%)   | 8     | 5     | 2        | 1   |
| Koenigsberg | 1 (.5%)   | 3 ( 2%)   | 1 (.5%)   | 5     | 0     | 5        | 0   |
| Leipzig     | 0         | 2 ( 1%)   | 0         | 2     | 0     | 2        | 0   |
| Freiburg    | 0         | 0         | 2 ( 1%)   | 2     | 2     | 0        | 0   |
| Greifswald  | 0         | 1 (.5%)   | 0         | 1     | 1     | 0        | 0   |
| Halle       | 0         | 1 (.5%)   | 0         | 1     | 0     | 1        | 0   |
| Giessen     | 0         | 0         | 1         | 1     | 1     | 0        | 0   |
| Sum         | 43 (23%)  | 84 (44%)  | 64 (34%)  | 191   | 102   | 30       | 9   |

Table 37: (Gymnasium of Bromberg, 95 students)

| University | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| Breslau    | 44 ( 4%)  | 8 ( 8%)   | 4 ( 4%)   | 16    | 8     | 3        | 0   |
| Berlin     | 15 (16%)  | 14 (15%)  | 14 (15%)  | 43    | 5     | 26       | 1   |



|             |          |          |          |    |    |    |   |
|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----|----|----|---|
| Koenigsberg | 8 ( 8%)  | 10 (11%) | 11 (12%) | 29 | 0  | 25 | 1 |
| Halle       | 2 ( 2%)  | 0        | 2 ( 2%)  | 4  | 1  | 2  | 0 |
| Heidelberg  | 0        | 0        | 2 ( 2%)  | 2  | 0  | 2  | 0 |
| Greifswald  | 1 ( 1%)  | 0        | 0        | 1  | 0  | 1  | 0 |
| Sum         | 30 (32%) | 32 (35%) | 33 (35%) | 95 | 12 | 59 | 2 |

Table 38: (Gymnasium of Lissa, 127 students)

| University  | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| Breslau     | 17 (13%)  | 22 (17%)  | 32 (25%)  | 71    | 18    | 28       | 8   |
| Berlin      | 9 ( 7%)   | 13 (10%)  | 14 (11%)  | 36    | 10    | 16       | 6   |
| Bonn        | 2 ( 2%)   | 2 ( 2%)   | 1 ( 1%)   | 5     | 4     | 0        | 0   |
| Posen       | 0         | 0         | 6 ( 5%)   | 6     | 6     | 0        | 0   |
| Halle       | 0         | 3 ( 2%)   | 0         | 3     | 0     | 3        | 0   |
| Goettingen  | 1 ( 1%)   | 1 ( 1%)   | 0         | 2     | 0     | 1        | 0   |
| Koenigsberg | 0         | 0         | 1 ( 1%)   | 1     | 0     | 1        | 0   |
| Heidelberg  | 0         | 1 ( 1%)   | 0         | 1     | 0     | 1        | 0   |
| Prague      | 0         | 0         | 1 ( 1%)   | 1     | 0     | 0        | 1   |
| Eberswalde  | 0         | 0         | 1 ( 1%)   | 1     | 1     | 0        | 0   |
| Sum         | 29 (23%)  | 32 (33%)  | 56 (44%)  | 127   | 39    | 50       | 15  |

Table 39: (Friedrich Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 21 students)

| University  | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| Breslau     | 0         | 3 (14%)   | 2 (10%)   | 5     | 0     | 3        | 0   |
| Berlin      | 0         | 7 (33%)   | 2 (10%)   | 9     | 1     | 6        | 1   |
| Koenigsberg | 0         | 2 (10%)   | 1 ( 5%)   | 3     | 0     | 2        | 0   |
| Halle       | 0         | 1 ( 5%)   | 1 ( 5%)   | 2     | 0     | 2        | 0   |
| Bonn        | 0         | 0         | 2 (10%)   | 2     | 1     | 1        | 0   |



|     |   |          |         |    |   |    |   |
|-----|---|----------|---------|----|---|----|---|
| Sum | 0 | 13 (62%) | 8 (38%) | 21 | 2 | 14 | 1 |
|-----|---|----------|---------|----|---|----|---|

Table 40: (Gymnasium of Tremessen, 57 students)

|            |           |           |           |       |       |          |     |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| University | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
| Breslau    | 0         | 0         | 16 (28%)  | 16    | 15    | 1        | 0   |
| Berlin     | 0         | 0         | 8 (14%)   | 8     | 4     | 2        | 2   |
| Posen      | 0         | 0         | 33 (58%)  | 33    | 33    | 0        | 0   |
| Sum        | 0         | 0         | 57(100%)  | 57    | 52    | 3        | 2   |

Table 41: (Realschule Meseritz, 5 students)

|            |           |           |           |       |       |          |     |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| University | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
| Berlin     | 0         | 0         | 4 (80%)   | 4     | 0     | 3        | 1   |
| Posen      | 0         | 0         | 1 (20%)   | 1     | 1     | 0        | 0   |
| Sum        | 0         | 0         | 5(100%)   | 5     | 1     | 3        | 1   |

Table 42: (Gymnasium of Ostrowo, 10 students)

|            |           |           |           |       |       |          |     |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| University | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
| Breslau    | 0         | 0         | 8 (80%)   | 8     | 5     | 1        | 1   |
| Berlin     | 0         | 0         | 2 (20%)   | 2     | 2     | 0        | 0   |
| Sum        | 0         | 0         | 10(100%)  | 10    | 7     | 1        | 1   |

Table 43: (Realschule Krotoschin, 4 students)

|            |           |           |           |       |       |          |     |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----|
| University | 1815-1830 | 1831-1840 | 1841-1850 | Total | Cath. | Protest. | Jew |
| Berlin     | 0         | 0         | 4(100%)   | 4     | 0     | 3        | 1   |

Seen from a slightly different perspective, the summary of Tables 36-43 displays the following distribution: Of the 507 students included, 242 (47.7 percent) were Catholic, 224 (44.2 percent) were Protestant, and 41 (8.1 percent) were Jewish. The obvious first choice for Catholics was Breslau University (31.8%), followed by Berlin



Table 44:

| University  | Catholics     |               |               | Protestants   |               |               | Jews          |               |               | Total |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
|             | 1815-<br>1830 | 1831-<br>1840 | 1841-<br>1850 | 1815-<br>1830 | 1831-<br>1840 | 1841-<br>1850 | 1815-<br>1830 | 1831-<br>1840 | 1841-<br>1850 |       |
| Breslau     | 12            | 24            | 41            | 24            | 29            | 26            | 4             | 3             | 8             | 171   |
| Berlin      | 14            | 18            | 27            | 26            | 26            | 36            | 3             | 12            | 8             | 170   |
| Posen       | 0             | 23            | 65            | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 88    |
| Koenigsberg | 0             | 0             | 0             | 9             | 14            | 13            | 0             | 0             | 1             | 37    |
| Bonn        | 3             | 3             | 6             | 1             | 1             | 2             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 16    |
| Halle       | 0             | 0             | 1             | 2             | 5             | 2             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 10    |
| Heidelberg  | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1             | 2             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 3     |
| Goettingen  | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1             | 1             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1             | 3     |
| Leipzig     | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 2             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 2     |
| Greifswald  | 0             | 1             | 0             | 1             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 2     |
| Freiburg    | 0             | 0             | 2             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 2     |
| Giessen     | 0             | 0             | 1             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1     |
| Prague      | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1             | 1     |
| Eberswalde  | 0             | 0             | 1             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 0             | 1     |
| Sum         | 29            | 69            | 144           | 64            | 79            | 71            | 7             | 15            | 19            | 507   |

(24.4%); Posen, as was discussed before, had an exceptional status for Catholic students, which is underscored by the fact that 36.4% of them chose to attend the seminary as the place for studies. The fact that 83 out of 88 students were recruited from the Marien-Gymnasium in Posen and from the Gymnasium of Tremessen near Posen, suggests that economic reasons might have been operative. Additionally, however, political considerations can be assumed as well, when, for instance, whole graduating classes decided to study in Posen rather than elsewhere.





Thus, a third choice for Catholics, as far as 'genuine' universities were concerned, was Bonn with 5 percent of them studying there; the Catholic environment of the Rhineland may partly explain the popularity of Bonn among those students. Interesting to note is the sharp rise of Catholic students attending university: During the three periods, the figures increased from 12% to 28.5% and, finally, to 59.5% of the Catholic total of 242. Part of this increase is, of course, the Posen-seminary which, during the period 1841-1850, attracted almost as many students as Breslau and Berlin together. Another important aspect is that Koenigsberg, Heidelberg, and Goettingen were not frequented at all.

Turning now to the Protestant figures, the first choice was Berlin for 88 students (39.3%), followed by Breslau with 79 students (35.3%) and by Koenigsberg which was obviously rated as a 'Protestant' university, with 36 students (16.1%). Remarkably enough, 29 students went there from the Gymnasium of Bromberg, and only 3 from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. The University of Halle had apparently lost much of its reputation, now drawing only 8 students (3.6%). The fact that other centres of learning, like Jena, Tuebingen, or Marburg are not mentioned at all, illustrates the proclivity of the Prussian state to encourage studies at its own universities. The growth of enrolment among Protestant students was less dramatic as compared with their Catholic counterparts, as the percentages of 28.7, 35.0 and 36.3 for the three periods suggest.

A look at the figures for Jewish graduates shows an increase from 17.1% to 36.6% and 46.3% over the three periods. Their first



choice was also Berlin with 23 students (56.1%), followed by Breslau with 15 students (36.6%); a truly 'third' choice was apparently not considered. The correspondence of Jewish and Protestant preferences in secondary education thus persisted to some degree also on the tertiary level.

The choice of universities indicates a few more tendencies. Although Breslau and Berlin were attended by almost the same number of students, the fact that more Catholics chose Breslau first over Berlin, while the opposite was true for Protestants, suggests that the environmental setting of Breslau University had a certain appeal for Catholic/Polish students; similar arguments apply for Posen and Bonn. Secondly, the four most popular universities (including Posen for that matter) were 'close to home', and only 41 graduates from the Grand Duchy (8.1%) studied 'elsewhere'. Finally, the universities of Warsaw, Wilno, Cracow, and Lwow were not mentioned at all, but Prague was. Since one can assume that not all the graduates intended to enter the civil service--which would have required attendance of Prussian (or other German) universities--political reasons might be suggested that prevented students from studying at 'Polish' universities, or of not mentioning their intention to study there. In this context it is interesting to note that a few Polish teachers officially terminated their teaching-assignments in the Grand Duchy in order to accept appointments as professors at those Polish universities. At least in one instance, however, the teacher was advised that he thereby lost his privileges as a Prussian subject.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>When Dr. Malecki requested his transfer to Cracow university in 1850, he was told that "we, finally, point out to you, that entering the service of a foreign state entails the loss for a Prussian of his status (Eigenschaft) as a Prussian". Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 192.



(g) The Secondary Schools and the Social Structure

As has been argued before, Polish society had begun to undergo changes that might be characterized as the transition from feudal structures towards a civic society, when the partitions occurred and halted the effects of the May-Third Constitution. It has to be remembered, though, that the dominance of the upper gentry was hardly challenged; living-conditions of the peasants were to be improved, but no immediate action had been initiated. The lower gentry, together with the townspeople--Polish as well as German--can thus be considered the nucleus of a middle class. When the Grand Duchy became part of Prussia, some of the reforms introduced by Stein and Hardenberg were extended to the new province, it was mainly vom Stein's liberalism that determined the initial approach with regard to the Grand Duchy:

This prince has but one object in the plan he has adopted, namely, to secure the happiness of the Poles and atone for the political injustice committed against them by his ancestors; his motives are pure and noble, all those who have taken part in that violent act should help to mitigate its pernicious consequences; and all that is necessary is to come to an understanding about the choice of means, and to avoid the danger, while we strive to return to the principles of justice for the benefit of the Poles, of departing from them in equally important points of policy and morality.<sup>24</sup>

He, therefore, suggested "the establishment of provincial administrations or provincial estates in the Polish provinces" in order to "secure to the Poles freedom of the person and of property, interest in the internal administration, a means of developing their moral and

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<sup>24</sup>Letter of vom Stein to Tsar Alexander, quoted in J.R. Seeley, Life and Times of Stein (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1878), p. 253.





intellectual capacities".<sup>25</sup> However, although Stein pressed for the implementation of his plan, little of it was actually accomplished.<sup>26</sup>

In Prussia proper, the transformation process was already more advanced, partly due to the active involvement of the burghers, whether artisans or intellectuals, tradesmen or teachers, in the Wars of Liberation and the reform-movement prior to 1815. Thus a twin influence on the Grand Duchy's society set in at about the same time, namely the nascent feeling of the need for social change on the part of the 'educated' population, and the imposition of socio-political patterns that had partly been shaped in accordance with the Prussian reforms and aimed at a full bourgeois transformation of society. And since elementary education had become an established, well-developed feature throughout the old provinces of the monarchy, secondary schools were now becoming the agencies that would provide the qualifications and the prestige that were needed for further advances on the social ladder.

For the following analysis of the students' social backgrounds, the attempt has been made to categorize the various occupations listed in the school-records according to the following criteria:

- (a) Dependent workers, tenants, peasants, i.e., all those occupations that implied little skills only, and that for the lack of capital and education depended upon employment that could be terminated at the will of the employer;

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<sup>25</sup> Seeley, Life and Times of Stein, Vol. III, p. 254.

<sup>26</sup> Seeley, Life and Times of Stein, Vol. III, p. 260.





- (b) Self-employed artisans, shopkeepers, innkeepers, etc., i.e., all those occupations that implied greater skills and/or modest capital (or education) in order to be independent to some extent;
- (c) Lower and medium-level civil servants, including elementary-school teachers, i.e., a greater amount of specific training was needed, and employment was based on contractual arrangements that could not be terminated at will;
- (d) Entrepreneurs and landowners who employed industrial or agricultural workers, i.e., a high degree of economic independence was based on a greater amount of invested capital and of social prestige;
- (e) Independent professionals and university-trained civil servants of the upper level, i.e., despite modest or no capital, their education and their social functions bestowed upon them high prestige and some degree of political power;
- (f) High-level civil servants in decision-making positions, and army officers, i.e., those representatives of the state's authority that commanded high social prestige, founded in the political power they were entitled to exercise.

Thus the three basic determinants of social stratification, namely property or wealth, prestige or social esteem, and power or social and political influence, have been used to signify occupational distinctions, and in the specific situation of the Grand Duchy's society, the execution of power seemed to be the most crucial attribute, whereas property as such played a relatively subordinate role, since it could rarely be converted into political power.

The earliest entry for the Marien-Gymnasium was in 1816.



Although no specified occupations were mentioned, the students of the lower grades designated their fathers' occupations as 'farmer' (Ackersmann), 'burgher', 'nobleman', and 'landowner', whereas in the upper grades a majority named 'nobleman' as their parental background.<sup>27</sup>

For the subsequent years, more specific data are available, and the information for the various schools is provided below. Here the symbols (a), (b), etc. refer to the occupational categories outlined above, and the capitals C, P, and J stand for the three denominations.

Table 45:

|                               | (a) |   |   | (b) |   |    | (c) |    |   | (d) |   |   | (e) |   |   | (f) |   |   | Total |
|-------------------------------|-----|---|---|-----|---|----|-----|----|---|-----|---|---|-----|---|---|-----|---|---|-------|
| Period                        | C   | P | J | C   | P | J  | C   | P  | J | C   | P | J | C   | P | J | C   | P | J | Total |
| Marien-Gymnasium:             |     |   |   |     |   |    |     |    |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |       |
| 1831-1840                     | 5   | 0 | 0 | 3   | 2 | 5  | 21  | 8  | 1 | 12  | 0 | 1 | 2   | 1 | 0 | 5   | 2 | 0 | 68    |
| 1841-1850                     | 7   | 0 | 0 | 4   | 0 | 0  | 5   | 1  | 0 | 7   | 1 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 1   | 1 | 0 | 27    |
| Gymnasium of Bromberg:        |     |   |   |     |   |    |     |    |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |       |
| 1831-1840                     | 0   | 1 | 0 | 0   | 2 | 0  | 1   | 6  | 0 | 2   | 1 | 0 | 0   | 1 | 0 | 0   | 3 | 0 | 17    |
| 1841-1850                     | 0   | 2 | 0 | 0   | 1 | 2  | 3   | 7  | 0 | 1   | 6 | 0 | 1   | 4 | 0 | 1   | 9 | 0 | 37    |
| Gymnasium of Lissa:           |     |   |   |     |   |    |     |    |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |       |
| 1815-1830                     | 1   | 0 | 0 | 1   | 3 | 4  | 1   | 3  | 0 | 3   | 0 | 0 | 1   | 2 | 0 | 1   | 1 | 0 | 21    |
| 1831-1840                     | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 1 | 2  | 1   | 5  | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 1   | 4 | 0 | 14    |
| 1841-1850                     | 8   | 1 | 0 | 7   | 6 | 11 | 3   | 12 | 1 | 4   | 3 | 0 | 0   | 5 | 1 | 2   | 4 | 0 | 68    |
| Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium: |     |   |   |     |   |    |     |    |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |     |   |   |       |
| 1831-1840                     | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 1  | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 1     |
| 1841-1850                     | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0   | 0 | 0 | 0   | 1 | 0 | 1   | 2 | 0 | 4     |

<sup>27</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.



Gymnasium of Ostrowo:

|           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 1841-1850 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|

Realschule Meseritz:

|           |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 1831-1840 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4  |
| 1841-1850 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 43 |

Realschule Krotoschin:

|           |    |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |   |    |    |   |   |    |   |    |    |   |     |
|-----------|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|----|---|---|----|---|----|----|---|-----|
| 1841-1850 | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0  | 0  | 1  | 0  | 3  | 0 | 0  | 1  | 0 | 0 | 0  | 0 | 0  | 0  | 0 | 5   |
| Sum       | 26 | 9 | 0 | 15 | 20 | 29 | 36 | 63 | 2 | 30 | 21 | 1 | 6 | 17 | 1 | 13 | 28 | 0 | 319 |

These 319 graduates, whose socio-economic status as well as their denomination are known, form only 45 percent of all the 702 graduates, and thus a rather small sample. Especially the lack of information about the Gymnasium of Tremessen, and of the early years of the Marien-Gymnasium negatively influence the conclusions to be drawn for the Catholic students, who are underrepresented in this sample; (of the 319, 128 were Catholic, 158 Protestant, and 33 Jewish).

In order to increase the comparability of the figures, they will be presented below in a condensed form:

Table 46:

|           | (a) |   |   | (b) |    |    | (c) |    |   | (d) |    |   | (e) |    |   | (f) |    |   |       |
|-----------|-----|---|---|-----|----|----|-----|----|---|-----|----|---|-----|----|---|-----|----|---|-------|
| Period    | C   | P | J | C   | P  | J  | C   | P  | J | C   | P  | J | C   | P  | J | C   | P  | J | Total |
| 1815-1830 | 1   | 0 | 0 | 1   | 3  | 4  | 1   | 3  | 0 | 3   | 0  | 0 | 1   | 2  | 0 | 1   | 1  | 0 | 21    |
| 1831-1840 | 5   | 2 | 0 | 3   | 5  | 8  | 23  | 21 | 1 | 14  | 1  | 1 | 2   | 2  | 0 | 6   | 10 | 0 | 103   |
| 1841-1850 | 20  | 7 | 0 | 11  | 12 | 17 | 14  | 39 | 1 | 13  | 20 | 0 | 3   | 13 | 1 | 6   | 17 | 0 | 195   |

In category (a), an increase among Protestant and, more strongly even, Catholic low-income parents can be noticed; Jewish



students are not represented here at all. They are, on the other hand, dominant in category (b), where their number increased steadily; the same can be said about the Catholic parents, whereas the Protestant increase was only in absolute terms. Relatively, they dropped from 33 percent to 11 percent of the respective number of graduates. Category (c) is numerically the strongest group (except for Jewish parents), with a maximum for the 1831-1840 period. The relative decline during the next period was stronger among Catholics than among Protestants. A similar tendency is visible in category (d): Catholic figures decrease relatively, whereas a sharp rise among Protestants is obvious during the period 1841-1850. The fact that a great number of land-owners is mentioned during those years suggests that the increase was attributable to the Prussian policies of land-acquisition. But also growing industrialization seems to have favoured Protestant parents, and many Protestant factory-owners are mentioned here for the first time; as an aside, the only Jewish parent mentioned in this category was also specified as 'entrepreneur'. The figures in category (e) show little change or even a drop in relative terms, except for an increase among Protestant parents during the 1841-1850 period. Category (f), finally, is characterized by a similar development: While Catholic parents decrease in relative terms, an increase can be noticed among Protestants, which, however, levelled off during the last period in relative terms. Jewish parents were not represented here at all.

Seen from a slightly different perspective, Catholic parents were most strongly represented in the four lowest categories, whereas





Protestant parents were by and large more numerous in the higher categories; Jewish parents came almost exclusively from category (b). The most spectacular growth for Catholics was in category (a) during the period 1841-1850, and in category (c) during 1831-1840. Their sharpest decline was, and this is interesting to note, also in category (c), following the growth just mentioned.

Among Protestants the greatest increase was likewise in category (c), together with their Catholic counterparts; however, their relative figures in category (b) declined during the 35-year period.

Altogether 201 out of 319 parents (63 percent) came from categories (a) to (c), i.e., what might be termed lower and lower-middle class, and their distribution and the shifts occurring during the three major periods are presented in the table below. But also the changes concerning the categories (d) to (f) will have to be included.

Table 47:

Categories (a) to (c)

| Period    | Catholics            | Protestants          | Jews                 |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1815-1830 | 3 out of 8 (37.5%)   | 6 out of 9(66.7%)    | 4 out of 4(100%)     |
| 1831-1840 | 31 out of 53 (58.5%) | 26 out of 41(68.3%)  | 9 out of 10( 90%)    |
| 1841-1850 | 45 out of 67 (67.2%) | 58 out of 108(53.7%) | 18 out of 19( 94.7%) |

Categories (d) to (f)

|           |                      |                      |                     |
|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1815-1830 | 5 out of 8 (62.5%)   | 3 out of 9(33.3%)    | 0                   |
| 1831-1840 | 22 out of 53 (41.5%) | 13 out of 41(31.7%)  | 1 out of 10( 10.0%) |
| 1841-1850 | 22 out of 67 (23.8%) | 50 out of 108(46.3%) | 1 out of 19( 5.3%)  |



An explanation that can be offered on the basis of those figures pertains to social mobility, in that it can be assumed that during the period under discussion social prestige and social power were no longer related to property alone, but that education was increasingly recognized as being a significant determinant in establishing social status, thereby gradually replacing hereditary status, a process that gained momentum in later years. From there it would follow that moving from one of the categories (a) to (c) into those of (d) to (f) was particularly important for all those who were socially ambitious and who wanted to embark on a professional career. The figures for Catholics suggest that the changing social structures were fully reflected in the secondary schools; greater segments of the Catholic/Polish society seem to have made increasing use of secondary education to upgrade their qualifications so that new occupational avenues would be available to them. Protestants, the great majority of whom were Germans, possibly indicate a somewhat different movement. The increase until 1840, based on an already high percentage in categories (a) to (c), may have been instigated by the same rationale as just mentioned above, although here the greater availability of secondary schools for Protestants may well be responsible in part for the high percentage right from the first period, as compared to Catholic students. The decrease among Protestants during the third period can be attributed to the fact that with the influx of more administrative personnel over the years the number of individuals already being in categories (d) to (f) increased relative to those Protestants who had previously sent their sons to the secondary schools. Finally,



in looking at the figures for Jewish parents, one may conclude that the high percentages in categories (a) to (c) throughout the three periods reflect the realization that, with all the restrictions imposed on their civic rights which underwent only slow change in accordance with the emancipation-legislation, education was seen as the major means to improve social status. This contention can be corroborated by the previously discussed finding, namely that Jewish students chose the 'free' professions, like medicine as their favourite fields of study where they could evade many of the restrictions that would bar them from the more prestigious positions in the state service.

(h) Traditional Forms of Financial Assistance in Secondary Education

The changes in the socio-economic structure of the student-population were closely related to agencies and administrative measures whose objective it was to assist needy students financially. There were three basic types of traditional or conventional forms of assistance, and their scope, as far as eligibility and the amount of money are concerned, varied considerably.

One of the oldest forms of assistance was through private donations; in the Grand Duchy, their respective trust-funds were normally, in keeping with the country's history, restricted to the support of Polish and Catholic students. For example, the scholarships granted by the von-Lubranski and the von-Szoldrski donations for twenty-two students attending the Marien-Gymnasium were designated to help those students of noble origin whose parents experienced financial difficulties. Similar funds were available from the Przylinski-donation for two students, although not restricted to the sons of the nobility.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen, Vol. I, p. 211.



The scholarship awarded by Count Myelzynski amounted to 90 Thalers annually and was to be conferred on one student who would continue his studies at the university.<sup>29</sup> Lastly, eighteen students of 'noble' origin were supported by the von-Kosmowski-foundation at the Gymnasium of Tremessen.<sup>30</sup>

A second type of support was offered by means of student-residences, the so-called Alumnate, for Catholic students in Posen and Tremessen, and the so-called Ephorat for Protestant students at the Gymnasium of Lissa. At these institutions, many of the students whose tuition-fees were paid by the aforementioned donations or by the state, had free room and board, and in the case of the Marien-Gymnasium, they were additionally required to dedicate themselves to theological studies after completion of high-school, a measure that largely explains the great number of students studying at the seminary of Posen. Students who eventually changed their minds or who did not comply with other conditions attached to the granting of support, had to refund 90 Thalers for every year they had attended the Alumnat. These facilities had been introduced in 1836 since the supply of Catholic clerics did not keep pace with the growing demand for priests in rural areas. The impact that the Alumnat had on the students must have been considerable, shaping the entire life-style and the Weltanschauung of the student, apart from the progress made in his academic studies.<sup>31</sup> The government supported the Alumnate, and therefore an

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<sup>29</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1873, p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1846.

<sup>31</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Marien-Gymnasium zu Posen, 1873.





additional number of 30 students could be accommodated at Tremessen, and more than 40 in Posen. It is interesting to note that a corresponding institution existed for Protestant students from the Grand Duchy, at the Joachimsthal-Gymnasium in Berlin; however, only three students from the province were to be accepted, two of them also receiving additional financial support.<sup>32</sup> The Ephorat at the Gymnasium of Lissa, generously supported by Count Sulkowski, had as its purpose to help "deserving and needy students". After the Count's death the programme was discontinued in 1851, mainly because the succeeding chairman lacked the Count's enthusiasm.<sup>33</sup>

A third means of assistance was the waiving of tuition-fees for a certain number of students enrolled at a school; the officially established limit was normally 20 percent of the total enrolment, but schools used to go beyond that figure, extending it up to more than 30 percent at the Gymnasium of Lissa.<sup>34</sup> To name just a few examples, 106 out of 355 students were exempted from paying fees at the Marien-Gymnasium in 1826, at Lissa the ratio was 61 out of 285 in 1834, and, together with other forms of assistance, those who did not have to pay for their education at Tremessen in 1843 were 138 out of 275.

Tuition-fees were relatively high, at least as far as the average low-income earner was concerned: To pay 10 Thalers per year

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<sup>32</sup>Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen, Vol. I, p. 209. However, according to a letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of April 20, 1833, six places had been allotted to "Polish young students of Protestant faith"; only two names could be submitted that year.

<sup>33</sup>A.Ziegler, "Beitraege zur aelteren Geschichte des Gymnasiums" in Zur dreihundertjaehrigen Jubelfeier des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Lissa (Lissa: Ernst Guenther, 1855), p. XXI.

<sup>34</sup>Wiese, Das hoehere Schulwesen in Preussen, Vol. I, p. 216.



must have been quite a financial burden for many a family, since civil servants at the lower level earned only about 150 Thaler per year, whereas the average income of a high-school teacher was about 500 to 600 Thalers. Applications for the waiving of fees were therefore quite common, and the case of a salt-worker from Czarnikau might exemplify which societal groups depended on financial support: He was the father of eight children, six of whom were still living at home. Since his annual salary was only 120 Thalers, he applied for the waiving of tuition-fees.<sup>35</sup> Initially, fees had ranged between 7 and 13 Thalers, depending on the grade-level; by 1851 they had gone up to 16 Thalers for all students at almost every school covered in the present study. Consequently, competition for free tuition must have been fierce, particularly since students who could not pay were evicted from the school.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, certain conditions could be stipulated for the recipients of those benefits, as in the case of a student in Lissa who was informed by a letter from the President-in-Chief,

we would like to support your request . . . if the student was able to speak Polish. Financial support for young people of this province who intend to attend university will primarily be given to those who want to become teachers for secondary schools, and they have to speak Polish. In order to qualify for a scholarship, the student has to demonstrate his competency in this language, and his ability to<sup>37</sup> use it as the language of instruction in future years.

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<sup>35</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 17.

<sup>36</sup> The Provincial Education Commission decreed that "no student except for the sons of teachers of the Gymnasium, and deserving poor civil servants, and those who want to become Catholic priests" should receive free tuition right from the beginning of their studies. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9 and 18.

<sup>37</sup> Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 13.



The same year, a list of students who had been named for financial assistance was rejected by the Provincial Education Commission because the names indicated that they all were of German origin and probably of Protestant faith. For this reason, a new list had to be submitted, including the names of Polish and Catholic students as well. There is some irony in the fact that, as the letter concluded, "there are apparently no more students in the higher grades who would be willing to become secondary-school teachers, who have not left the school for the Kingdom of Poland; as a result, there may be no more Polish students who are eligible for the scholarship in question".<sup>38</sup> To conclude the present discussion, the granting of support, either by private donations or by the state, and the waiving of tuition-fees, were the major areas where educational policies in a most encompassing sense could be reinforced most directly.

(i) Innovative Forms of Financial Assistance in Secondary Education

In 1817 the Verein zur Unterstuetzung hilfsbeduerftiger Gymnasiasten (Association for the Support of Needy Students) was founded at the Gymnasium of Bromberg by 26 German and 21 Polish citizens, with the declared objective

to promote the scholarly education of all those who possess the abilities required, but who lack the financial means; but also to spread high-quality culture, and to train efficient civil servants among the population of the District of Bromberg.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of June 24, 1831. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 14.

<sup>39</sup> Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1867.





The funds were to be raised through membership-dues and through generous donations, and scholarships would be given up to 100 Thalers to students in the two upper grades. Since this scheme of private initiative was very effective and had proven its worth in other places as well, such as Danzig, Gumbinnen, and Koenigsberg, it was favourably mentioned by the Ministry of Education as an example for all those men "distinguished through education, mature social consciousness, and patriotic feelings" to be emulated; the royal purse was unable to assume this responsibility.<sup>40</sup>

But whereas the other gymnasia of the province were trying different means of supporting students as have been discussed before, the idea was pursued by some Poles 'distinguished through education, mature social consciousness, and patriotic feelings'. Count Eduard Raczynski, one of the most respected noblemen of the country, expressed the underlying expectation as follows: "If the Poles become better and more educated, and thus more prosperous than the Germans, they will be the masters of their country".<sup>41</sup> Plans were devised in 1829 to form an association for the support of students, and Prince Radziwill, together with Dr. Kraszewski, and the Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, von Wolicki, were about to implement the idea, when the uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, and the resignation of Radziwill brought those

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<sup>40</sup> Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur, Die preussischen Gymnasien und hoeheren Buergerschulen (Berlin: Verlag von Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1835), pp. 207-08.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in Adolf Kunkel, "Der Posener Marcinkowski-Verein fuer Unterrichtshilfe" in Vierteljahresschrift fuer Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Vol. XVI, p. 148.





endeavours to a sudden halt. The subsequent policies introduced by Flottwell stalled similar undertakings because of their overt national orientation, and it was not before Dr. Marcinkowski had returned from Paris with his experiences in national education among the sons of the Polish emigres, that the idea of forming such an association in Posen was revived. He consulted with Dr. Libelt, Count Myelzynski and others, and "they envisaged nothing less than a new relation between masters and servants, between the nobility and the peasants".<sup>42</sup> One of the primary objectives was therefore to appeal to the peasantry who, with all the formidable attention given them by the government, had to be won over to the Polish national cause. But also a strengthening of a Polish middle class had to be attempted.

The statutes of the association, drafted by Libelt, were submitted for the government's approval in 1841, and not only did Flottwell agree with them, but other Prussian officials in both the Grand Duchy and in Berlin highly recommended the association's inauguration. One of the strongest points of the statutes was that they in theory allowed for the support of German and Jewish students as well as long as they spoke Polish. It was as late as 1846 when the political tensions emerging in the Grand Duchy also aroused suspicions about the purpose of the 'Association for the Support of the Learning Youth in the Grand Duchy', as it was officially called. In a confidential report on one of the Association's meetings which he had been invited to attend, the County Councillor von Randow informed the President-in-Chief of his impressions: The support of students was a

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<sup>42</sup>Kunkel, "Marcinkowski-Verein", p. 153.



subordinate purpose only: in his words, "the major objective is the intention of strengthening the solidarity among Poles, of pursuing political ends, and of emphasizing the separating wall between Poles and Germans".<sup>43</sup> Although his report has to be understood in the context of the rising national tensions between the two nationalities, his assessment provided a fairly accurate picture of the soci-political importance of the Association for the Polish national movement that had become more vocal during those years.

The government's response was the announcement of closer supervision of the Association's leading personalities which, eventually, would result in voluntary dissolution of the organization. The Royal Commissioner who was to be appointed to exercise control over the activities, never began his difficult task: A petition to the King not to impede the Association's functions was successful, although the actual working-principles had meanwhile become quite obvious. The students supported were almost exclusively Polish and Catholic, while Protestant students in Bromberg, Krotoschin, Posen, and Meseritz were practically excluded; at Lissa, only Protestants of Polish origin were considered eligible for funds.<sup>44</sup>

The organizational sub-structure of the Association was virtually identical with the Catholic parishes. Local committees were responsible for recruiting new members who, for at least a period of

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<sup>43</sup>Report to the President-in-Chief, of July 15, 1847. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2942 (X E 7a).

<sup>44</sup>Kunkel, "Marcinkowski-Verein", p. 158.



five years, had to pay an annual fee of 10 Thalers. By 1841 there existed 25 such committees, comprising a total of 1,322 members, and the latter figure rose to 1,559 in 1844. The success during the early years must have been phenomenal, since, as Kunkel claims, "an emotional intoxication for the purposes of the association had overcome the educated society of Posen, and the city experienced its renaissance as it became the spiritual centre of Poland as it never happened again".<sup>45</sup> Pressure by the Catholic Church on the clergy to join the national cause was presumably a very effective means for disseminating the ideas of the Association throughout the province, and within a year the sum-total of 12,622 Thalers had been collected. And while it was the local committees' assignment to select students worthy of support, and to supervise their conduct, it was the directorate in Posen that determined who was to receive scholarships, varying between 25 and 75 Thalers a year. Applicants were required to speak Polish as well as German, and they had to submit to controls exercised by specially appointed teachers.

The interim report of 1842 mentioned a total expenditure of almost 3,000 Thalers for that year, and the major recipients were university students in Berlin, Breslau, and Freiburg, most of whom studied philology and theology. Among the gymnasia, 19 students from the Marien-Gymnasium, 10 from the Gymnasium of Tremessen, 6 from Lissa, and three from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium held scholarships. Additionally, 29 students attending teacher-training colleges, 18 students from preparatory schools, and some other youths studying

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<sup>45</sup>Kunkel, "Marcinkowski-Verein", p. 160.



engineering, sculpture, surgery, dental science, and veterinary science, obtained financial aid for lodging, food, clothing, books and the like.<sup>46</sup> In 1844, the report named the total expenditure for the last three years as 25,587 Thalers; the gymnasia received 8,667, university-students 5,844 Thalers, and apprentices in trade and industry 4,219 Thalers. Support for pupils in elementary schools was suspended after a few years. The middle class orientation of the Association's policy is captured in the statement that

this youth, once entering into civic life, will disseminate education and industry in all parts of the country, even if only half of them will fulfill our expectations. And in doing so, they will more than repay the money and the efforts now extended to them.<sup>47</sup>

A similar note was struck in the report for 1846, when as one of the basic objectives achieved the pronouncement was made: "We succeeded in eliciting among the lower class of the people an inclination towards the sciences, and the conviction of the need for advanced education".<sup>48</sup> But it also contained remarks such as "prospects for a bright future", or that the recipients "once will repay the debt owed to the fatherland more than plentiful", etc., thereby clearly pointing at the national thrust of the Association's policy.

A set-back occurred after 1846, and the annual report of 1847/48 mentioned the negative effects that the political events were

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<sup>46</sup> Annual report of the Association which had originally been written in Polish, and was later translated by the President-in-Chief's office, dated March 2, 1842.

<sup>47</sup> Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2946.

<sup>48</sup> Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2946.





having on the activities of the Association. Apart from economic consequences which infringed upon the generosity of the public, there was apparently a certain degree of disappointment and frustration, and the future prospects were assessed as rather bleak. Consequently, the report of 1850 was much less optimistic, claiming that the "difficult political circumstances were having their effects on the education of the young, but also on the patriotic feelings of the people". The publication of the expenditures for the period 1845-50 also reflect the restraints: Only 11 university-students in Berlin, Breslau, and Bonn had been supported. An increase over the 1842-figures was mentioned, on the other hand, with regard to the 77 students at the schools in Posen (Marien-Gymnasium), Lissa, Tremessen, and Ostrowo, but also for the 96 students at the Posen-seminary and at teacher-training colleges. Industry and trade-apprentices were supported in 7 instances.

The general mood notwithstanding, the list of recipients who had completed their education with the help of the Association, comprised the names of more than 190 students, of whom the 139 elementary-school teachers and the 19 high-school teachers were the most numerous groups. Thirty graduates from universities or similar institutions were mentioned, and, furthermore, a fair number of carpenters, tanners, mechanics, etc. appeared on the list.

The policies of the Association, which in 1861 was named 'Marcinkowski Association', changed in later years, and major support was given to future teachers at elementary schools until 1873 only. But in those years the misgivings of the Prussian government concerning the Association's work had grown to such an extent that after 1886



teachers were no longer allowed to be active for the Association.

(j) Some Conclusions on the Expansion of Secondary Education and Social Change

Two questions had been asked at the beginning of Chapter Four, namely what the rationale was for the initially slow, but then more rapid growth in the number of students and their schools; secondly, the question was what the effects were on the social, political, and cultural climate among the Grand Duchy's population. A few answers can now be provided.

The primary reason for expanding secondary education was definitely the government's intention to extend the same quantity and quality of education to the newly acquired citizens and thereby bring them culturally closer to the 'old' provinces. The government principle was to improve first the facilities for elementary education before secondary institutions should be established. The second step, then, was to measure the performance of the new secondary schools against the 'new-model' gymnasias in Prussia proper, and, as mentioned before, to be counted among the best gymnasias of the monarchy was apparently considered to provide the most effective incentive for the Grand Duchy's schools for improving their performance. But since education can only be fully understood in its socio-political setting, and since academic performance during the period under discussion was more overtly than before considered to be but one facet of the overall socialization process, the right 'spirit' had to be formed at the same time; here the objectives for education in the Grand Duchy merged with those pursued in Prussia proper at the same time. Differences emerged and had to be resolved with regard to political



socialization. In Prussia proper, political non-conformism was most conspicuous at the university-level, although similar dissent can also be assumed to have existed at the gymnasium-level, especially during the 1840's. In the absence of universities in the Grand Duchy, the high-schools had become the focus not only of adolescent political culture, but also the arena in which educators found their disciples to whom they could convey their political attitudes, in whatever disguise. Tensions therefore arose especially in schools with an ethnically mixed student population and teaching-staff, as could best be witnessed at the Marien-Gymnasium, but also in Ostrowo. Conversely, the predominantly Protestant/German character of, for instance, the Gymnasium of Bromberg and the Realschule Meseritz, likewise shaped the outlook of the respective student bodies in a definitive way. It is therefore not surprising that the schools just mentioned were involved in political controversy to a greater extent perhaps than comparable schools in the old Prussian provinces.

The social shifts among the student population indicate that the former predominance of the Polish aristocracy at the gymnasia was gradually replaced by townspeople, civil servants, and peasants and workers as far as the Polish segment of the Grand Duchy's populace is concerned. This development was certainly supported by the provincial government, and it was the tacit expectation that by breaking the political influence of the aristocracy the national resistance would dissipate. However, as the unrest at the gymnasia in Posen and Ostrowo during the revolutionary years suggest, also with the representation of 'lower' social strata in the gymnasia, the national aspirations



continued to manifest themselves, in schools and out. The conclusion to be reached in the light of the present chapter might well be summarized as the affirmation of national political objectives by the emerging bourgeois groups, rather than an acquiescence to Prussian rule. Here the principles enunciated by the Marcinkowski Association appear to best capture the new spirit that was beginning to take hold in Polish society.

Cultural change in the sense of new ideas in the area of artistic and intellectual life was definitely promoted by the expansion of secondary education. Not only were cultural concepts dispersed more evenly than before, but the acquaintance of the Grand Duchy's youth with German cultural achievements had at least the potential of widening the outlook of the new social elite. As will be argued later on in more detail, it was the emphasis on German culture at the expense of Polish traditions and achievements that greatly impeded the unrestricted acceptance of the culture that was offered. One might even venture the assertion that the fact of transmitting culture by means of administrative measures as they were formulated by the Prussian bureaucracy, was precluding the dispassionate evaluation of German culture altogether, at least as far as the intellectuals in the 1830's and 1840's were concerned. These two aspects, namely disregard for the Polish cultural heritage, and the insistence on German cultural values as presenting a higher form of cultural achievement defeated the potential that was inherent in the meeting of the two cultures in the Grand Duchy during the first half of the century.





## CHAPTER SIX

### THE GRAND DUCHY AND HER TEACHING STAFF

A pivotal function in the implementation of educational policies is exercised by the professional groups employed by educational institutions, i.e., by teachers and the superordinated administrators. They are the transmitters, charged with the translation of curricular and pedagogical instructions into everyday practice and with handing down to students and their parents the administrative regulations that impinge on classroom activities. Centralized educational systems, such as the Prussian, leave little room for teachers to explore alternatives in education, be it the modification of curricula, new approaches in pedagogy, or individually designed methods of evaluation. Administrators, on the other hand, by being directly responsible to their superiors and, eventually, to the central ministry, are bound by their office to adhere to the spirit of the decrees issued by the decision-making levels of the bureaucracy, whenever those decrees call for interpretation and implementation. They are, to some degree at least, in a more favourable position than the teachers in that the problems arising out of the day-to-day business of education reach them only indirectly, thus making it easier for them to insist on the strict adherence to the regulations and ordinances issued.



According to B. Bernstein<sup>1</sup>, one can obtain a valid, representative image of the distribution of power and the principles of social control, by probing into a society's selection, classification, transmission, and evaluation of educational knowledge that it considers to be public. In the context of the present chapter, the interrelatedness of educational knowledge and social and political control can possibly most conclusively be examined by analyzing the status and the role of the teachers, by examining their system of professional values and thereby their concept of education, but also by looking into the underlying organizational principles of the educational administration.

The teachers who were to be found in the gymnasia of the Grand Duchy-as far as they had been trained in Germany-represented a new professionalism as it had developed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries under the influence of Wolf, Heyne and Gedicke. Teaching school had formerly been a passing stage for theologians, and the resulting turnover had prevented any sort of professional identity. With the establishment of philology as a field of academic study, the social status was from now on based on scholarly competence, culminating in the claim to rival the respective expertise of senior civil servants, of jurists, and physicians in their areas of

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<sup>1</sup>Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge" in Michael F. Young (ed.), Knowledge and Control (London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971), p. 47. The three 'message systems' curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation will be more fully discussed in the chapter on curricula.



competence.<sup>2</sup> The foundation for these claims was to be sought in the research-activities as part of scholarly studies, leading to a high degree of specialization that increasingly excluded laymen from the discussion of educational issues. But also the introduction of a system of promotions, differential job-descriptions and, in some cases, the title of 'professor' placed secondary schoolmasters socially more or less in the same general category as university teachers.<sup>3</sup> It was for this reason not surprising at all to find academics preferring a teaching position at a gymnasium to a professorship at the university, or to witness transfers of experienced high-school teachers as chair-holding professors at universities.

As experts in their area of interest these teachers saw their role first of all in introducing the young into the world of culture as it was understood at that time; pedagogy as such, but also civic education were considered to form different spheres of the school's function,<sup>4</sup> and it was possibly the divorce of the teachers' academic orientation from broadly educational concerns that opened up the possibility for the state to impose its demand on the schools. And despite the fact that in secondary education a certain amount of professional expertise was preserved at the level of the Provincial

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<sup>2</sup>Manfred Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung auf die Bildungspolitik. Dargestellt an der preussischen Unterrichtsverwaltung" in Bildung und Erziehung, 23. Jahrgang, 1970, Heft 1, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup>R. Hinton Thomas, Liberalism, Nationalism and the German Intellectuals (1822-1847) (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1951), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung", p. 43.



Education Commission, the penetration of the educational administration with academically trained jurists increased considerably over the years.<sup>5</sup>

The emphasis on culture greatly determined the value-system endorsed by high-school teachers:

There was no sphere in which the claims of the bourgeoisie to pre-eminence were more marked than in that of 'culture', none in which it was more sensitive to its prestige and prerogatives, none in which it was easier to argue that material advance was a secondary consideration since all true values were those of the spirit. Classical humanism in Germany was beginning to serve as a defense of the culture of a property-owning middle class--of 'Bildung und Besitz'--against the rising tide of socialism.<sup>6</sup>

One may see here the value-basis for the rise of nationalism among German intellectuals in the course of the nineteenth century: By defining 'culture' as accruing from education and property, both concepts established a 'stake in society', an interest of the individual in securing 'his' share of Bildung and Besitz within the confines of his society, state, or nation. At the same time, those interests had to be guarded and defended against 'outsiders' from within or without the nation, thereby leading to the twin result of socio-political conservatism on one hand, and nationalism on the other.

Education in Prussia during the early nineteenth century also saw the bureaucratization of the school, in that the 'streamlining'-process of public administration, aiming at greater efficacy and rationality in directing public affairs, was extended by the

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<sup>5</sup>Heinemann, "Nebenwirkungen der Bildungsplanung", p. 56.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas, German Intellectuals, p. 80.





state to public education as well. Initially at least, teachers placed their professional identity above their state-servant status, thereby maintaining their distinctiveness as a professional group. The increasing domination of the schools by the administration gradually blurred this distinctiveness, when the demands made by the bureaucracy on the schools imposed greater amounts of administrative responsibilities on the teacher, as could be shown to some extent in the previous chapters. Finally, the sworn oath of office that was demanded from every teacher made him legally part of the state's administrative system, and loyalty to the principles on which the state rested also meant changes in the area of professional values.

The following presentation and analysis will examine the degree to which the characterization of the teachers can be applied to secondary education in the Grand Duchy, or where and why differences can be observed.

#### (a) The Teachers and Their Schools During the First Period

The names and some biographical data of 219 teachers who taught in the Grand Duchy's secondary schools during the entire period under discussion are given in Appendix A, and the following sections will only provide additional information as warranted by the issue at hand. The list can be considered to be almost exhaustive in that all the information available in the various institutional histories, school-programmes, and archival documents has been included. Also part of Appendix A are the civil servants of the next higher level of the administrative hierarchy, i.e., the Councillors of the Provincial Education Commission (Consistorial- und Schulraete, Regierungs- und



Schulraete). Most of them had held teaching positions in the Grand Duchy, and some biographical data on those administrators can be found in the list of teachers. Finally, the various presidents-in-chief (Oberpraesidenten), the various ministers of education, ministerial directors, state secretaries, etc. are also briefly presented in Appendix A, although a more detailed discussion of the administration and its effects on education will be provided in a later chapter.<sup>7</sup>

When the Minister of Education, Eichhorn, in 1844 voiced his opinion on the political climate that prevailed at the Marien-Gymnasium, namely that the German element had been dominant in former times, when Polish teachers had to conform,<sup>8</sup> he might have characterized the years that followed the dismissal of Dr. Kaulfuss in 1824; the situation in the years prior to this event does not seem to bear out his contention. The difficulties experienced by Dr. Bernd who did not speak Polish and who complained about disrespect from both colleagues and students<sup>9</sup> point at some solidarity among Polish students and teachers,

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<sup>7</sup>The information is based on Reinhard Luedicke, Die Preussischen Kultusminister und ihre Beamten im ersten Jahrhundert des Ministeriums, 1817-1917 (Berlin: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, Nachf., 1918), and on Gerd Eilers, Zur Beurteilung des Ministeriums Eichhorn (Berlin: Ferd. Duemmler's Buchhandlung, 1849). Some information is also provided in Karl-Ernst Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft, and in Irene Berger, Die preussische Verwaltung des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg, 1815-1847 (Cologne: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966).

<sup>8</sup>Letter from the Minister Eichhorn to the President-in-Chief, of May 12, 1844. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8933.

<sup>9</sup>Letter from Dr. Bernd to Dr. Kaulfuss. Acta Gymnasium Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 5.



and also the events that led to the demotion of Dr. Kaulfuss reflected political tensions among the school's teaching staff. Pronouncements such as,

if it is true that we have fallen behind our ancestors with respect to quiet virtue and profound piety, and that instead of serene contentment with our situation and the vicissitudes of Providence there exists a spasmodic and morbid dissatisfaction with our environs and our fate--other circumstances may have contributed--; one of the main reasons for it is that the beneficial principle of unconditional obedience has been replaced in education by the deceptive idea of trying to guide children only by means of arguments and reasoning<sup>10</sup>

must have caused controversies among the teachers under the specific conditions of the Grand Duchy. Similarly, the contention that "education without consideration for the state in which the young person is to live, makes for poor citizens or unhappy people",<sup>11</sup> although fully in line with the concept of national education as it had been espoused by the Polish Commission of National Education, must have met with opposition on the part of the Polish public because it meant consideration for the Prussian state.

The ensuing controversy in 1824, nonetheless, shows a surprising sensitivity on the part of the Provincial Education Commission and even of the Ministry of Education in their evaluation of, and reaction to, the events: In dismissing or transferring not only a Polish teacher, namely J.V. Cassius, but additionally two German colleagues, Dr. Kaulfuss and Schottky, the appearance of impartiality

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<sup>10</sup>J.S. Kaulfuss, "Monarchie und Schule" in Jahresprogramm des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1832, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>Kaulfuss, "Monarchie und Schule", p. 3.



could be maintained. However, with Dr. Jacob from Koenigsberg, Dr. Martin from Halberstadt, Dr. Benecke from Magdeburg, and Dr. Mueller, all of them Protestant, a strong group of new teachers was transferred to Posen, and they certainly reinforced the Prusso-German element within the school. An assessment of their suitability for their new positions was contained in a letter written by one of the leading Councillors of the Provincial Education Commission, Dr. Jacob, to the Minister von Altenstein. After criticizing the lack of discipline under Motty and Krolikowski, he mentioned Dr. Martin as having made some insulting remarks about the Polish people, about the Grand Duchy in general, and about some of the province's most prominent celebrities in particular. On those grounds, he had exposed himself to public criticism. Dr. Benecke, as well, had caused considerable unrest among the public, when he had slapped the face of one of his students three times for some unimportant reason. Possibly unaware of the fact that slapping in the face was conceived as a grave insult for a Pole, he made things worse by refusing to apologize or to settle the affair with the boy's father. Instead, he officially complained in a letter to the Education Commission about an allegedly anti-Prussian spirit within the school. For all these reasons, he was the most disrespected teacher of the gymnasium; to transfer him to another school was deemed unwise since such a move might give the appearance of a victory of public opinion. Dr. Jacob, on the other hand, was described in the letter as a teacher who treated every student, irrespective of his nationality, with the same strictness, but also with the same amount of trust; he was therefore respected by students, colleagues, and parents alike.





Contrary to the "book-worm" Dr. Martin, Dr. Jacob thereby exercised an ideal influence on the public. Finally, the letter also mentioned an apparent cleavage between some Polish and German teachers, when, for example, a number of German teachers had deliberately been excluded from a social gathering in the home of one of the Polish teachers, Braun.<sup>12</sup>

There is little or no indication of similar tensions in the other two schools in those years, the Gymnasium of Bromberg and the Gymnasium of Lissa. Most importantly, the predominantly German character of the Bromberg-school was also reflected in its teaching-staff, and there is virtually no evidence for the conditions as they had been castigated by Otto Roquette, as discussed in Chapter Four, although some of the problems might have existed. In Lissa, the agreement of 1820 which ascribed the position of the principal and the "first four teachers" to the Protestant denomination, was apparently fully accepted by the public, and Polish and German teachers seem to have cooperated without major conflicts. It was probably the strong personality of the principal, von Stoephasius, and his good rapport with the Provincial Education Commission of which he had been a long-time member, that minimized controversy and allowed for a smoother transition from the early years into the new order. His appreciation of Polish culture, as has been discussed earlier in the present study, can be assumed to have

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<sup>12</sup>Letter of April 25, 1827. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8931. The last incidence mentioned appears to be important because Braun had joined the school as a probationary teacher just a few months before the incidence happened. Three years later, Braun joined the Polish regiments in the Kingdom of Poland.



lessened opposition from within the school. The following excerpt from the curriculum vitae of the teacher J.D. Woyde, written in 1828, may indicate the difference in the appreciation of the political changes after 1815:

When this province was in 1815 once more allotted to Prussia, and when the benign concern of His Majesty, Our King, deemed it appropriate to revamp the organization of the educational institutions, this school, too, faced the prospect of a better future; these hopes were soon realized, and after 1819 our school was modernized and expanded. The remuneration of the teachers was substantially raised as well, thanks to the influence of the upper and highest authorities. I feel obliged to confess thankfully that by all those measures I have been placed in a position of spending the rest of my days free from anxiety, to the welfare and the education of the young generation that has been entrusted to me.<sup>13</sup>

The characterization of the educational administration appears to be largely adequate. For example, the instruction issued in the late 1820's called for the employment of bilingual teachers in the gymnasia of the Grand Duchy, and they should be given preference, irrespective of their nationality, whenever vacant positions were to be filled. In cases where teachers had been hired who spoke German only, they were officially requested to learn Polish.<sup>14</sup> The events of 1830/31, however, resulted in a marked change of these policies, and tighter measures of control were introduced. By letter of December 12, 1830, Dr. Jacob, in referring to a conference with the new President-

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<sup>13</sup>Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 12.

<sup>14</sup>Instructions of March 30 and of May 6, 1829. Jahresprogramm des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1829.



in-Chief Flottwell, suggested to the principals of the gymnasia a specific pledge of loyalty to be submitted by all the teachers. The resolution that was drafted at the staff-meeting at the Gymnasium of Lissa was presumably identical with the ones formulated in Bromberg and Posen, since the text had practically been prescribed by the Provincial Education Commission. First of all, the teachers promised to increase their vigilance regarding illegal and subversive activities among students, to be effected through closer supervision of extra-curricular activities and by inspections of the students' homes. More explicitly, the teachers promised:

Although we have already pledged by means of our oath of office to carry out our duties as teachers and educators in general, and to act loyally and obediently on behalf of His Majesty, Our King, and the entire Royal Family, we hereby declare, in view of the particular political circumstances, and in accordance with the request by the government, (1) that we shall in our presentations, lessons, and conversations with our students carefully avoid everything that might incite or promote the unfortunate tendency towards insubordination with respect to our present order, or that might suggest sympathy with those propensities; (2) that we will double our efforts of fulfilling our duties, and especially supervise our students also outside school-hours; we will immediately report any irregularities or any trace of suspicious inclinations regarding the students' political orientation towards the authorities.<sup>15</sup>

(b) The Teachers and Their Schools During the Second Period 1831-1840

The most spectacular event of the 1830's concerning changes in the teaching-force was the establishment of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Posen. The great number of students at the Marien-Gymnasium had been one of the reasons, but in view of the still prevalent

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<sup>15</sup>Letter of December 12, 1830. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 13.



Polish/Catholic character of the school and the concomitant political grievances, a new, Protestant gymnasium was certainly welcomed by most German groups and officials alike. Here the influence of Flottwell was considerable.<sup>16</sup>

When the Marien-Gymnasium was officially dissolved on September 30, 1834, and two 'new' institutions were opened in its stead on October 10, 1834, almost exclusively Catholic teachers were teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium, whereas Protestant teachers were concentrated at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.<sup>17</sup> The difficulties thereby created for the former school, in that, for instance, no teacher was available for the religious instruction of the 45 Protestant students, and in that the numerical reduction of the staff required organizational adjustments, could only gradually be overcome.<sup>18</sup> As in 1824, three new teachers were brought into Posen directly from Berlin (Dr. Trinkler, Bruellow, and Ziegler), thus adding to the Prusso-German character of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. It might be worth mentioning that Ziegler was a native of the Grand Duchy, who had been educated in

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<sup>16</sup>The 1841/42-annual report of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium gratefully acknowledged Flottwell's merits in stating that "under the President-in-Chief's administration, and particularly due to his efforts" had the school been established; its "inner and outer history (was) intricately interwoven with his Excellency's blessed official and personal concerns".

<sup>17</sup>The teachers at the Marien-Gymnasium were Stoc (principal), von Buchowski, Czwalina, von Wannowski, Motty, Poplinski, Cichowitz, and Losinski; the teaching-staff of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium consisted of Wendt, Martin, Mueller, Benecke, Monski, Loew, Schoenborn, Perdisch.

<sup>18</sup>Jahresprogramm des Koenigl. Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1834 and 1835.





Berlin; in 1845 he became principal of the Gymnasium of Lissa.

Despite the influx of teachers from Prussia proper who might have hoped for a chance of speedier professional advancement on the basis of a favourable record earned in the politically delicate environment of the Grand Duchy, the government's attempts to employ more teachers who had been born and raised in the Province were still being continued. Some qualities were, nonetheless, required or even formed the basis for the respective policies: Those teachers had to speak both languages equally well, they would have to be trusted and respected by their Polish students and the public in general, and, at the same time, be loyal to the government. Since some of the most experienced and reputable Polish teachers, like Krolikowski, Trojanski, Muszkowski, and Lozynski had left the Grand Duchy, either retiring for political reasons, or seeking positions at Cracow University, there existed an urgent need for adequate replacements, especially at the Marien-Gymnasium. Also the Gymnasium of Lissa, for example, complained about the difficulty of finding a qualified teacher for Polish,<sup>19</sup> and even the Ministry intervened in 1841 in a remarkable way to relieve the situation.

(c) The Teachers and Their Schools During the Third Period 1841-1850

On May 25, 1841 the Minister of Education asked the President-in-Chief's aid-de-camp, von Beurmann, in a confidential letter for information about a certain A. Moraczewski, editor of an intellectual journal and a man "of profound education and exceptional energy".<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1841.

<sup>20</sup> Letters by the Minister Eichhorn and by von Beurmann. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2941.



Furthermore was information sought on Dr. Libelt who was said to have become a well-known public figure on account of his scholarship; on Dr. Krasozenski who had the reputation of being a well-read intellectual, especially in the area of state-law; on the Provincial Director (Provinzial-Landschaftsdirektor) Zanuchowski; and on A. Lipski and Kierski who were also among the most respected public figures. Their educational backgrounds and life-styles were of interest to the Minister, and von Beurmann was requested to find out who of those mentioned might be willing to take a teaching-position at the schools or at the university, but also who might be interested in serving in an advisory capacity within the educational system. Von Beurmann's reply confirmed the characterizations, and regarding Dr. Libelt, he added that he had returned from Paris to participate in the 1830-uprising and, consequently, had been imprisoned for some time in the citadel of Magdeburg. As a result, he had been unemployable ever since, although his political orientation was "democratic", and he had been intelligent and considerate enough not to expose himself any more. Interestingly enough, Beurmann hastened to explain his use of the term 'democratic':

All of those aforementioned persons are being considered democrats. But to forestall any misconceptions, I obediently wish to indicate that the term, as it is used here, does not mean what is normally referred to as democratic conviction, but the determination of opposing the aristocracy, i.e., the upper ranks of the Polish nobility.<sup>21</sup>

His further comments on the differences between Polish and German educated men are quite enlightening and vividly exemplify the perception of different levels of culture: In his opinion, the majority of

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<sup>21</sup>Letter by von Beurmann. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2941.



the Polish nobility used to grow up without thorough education, and even if they attended high-schools or universities, they lacked the German diligence and perseverance. They would, therefore, not develop a full appreciation of science and neglect its pursuit entirely, once they returned to their estates. Those Poles who were more educated than the rest were soon considered by their peers to be scholars, even if they had only had a comparatively superficial education; all they needed was to impress rhetorically.<sup>22</sup>

The outcome of the attempt to win the cooperation of the aforementioned Polish intellectuals was disappointing. Except for Dr. Libelt who in later years was for some time teaching at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, and who, according to an instruction issued by the President-in-Chief's office, should be provided with "an appropriate sphere of activity",<sup>23</sup> none of the said could be won. Dr. Trentowski, one of the additional candidates, initially seemed to be suited for the schools, and his political views were described as moderate after he had taken part in the 1830-uprising. But his religious convictions were too unorthodox as to be tolerable in an educational institution. All the other persons were economically independent, and there was no plausible argument that could make them interested in teaching at the gymnasium. Only in an advisory position was their participation feasible.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Letter from Beurmann. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2941.

<sup>23</sup>Letter from the President-in-Chief to the Provincial Education Commission, of November 28, 1841. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2941.

<sup>24</sup>Letter from the President-in-Chief Arnim-Boitzenburg to Minister Eichhorn, of October 24, 1841. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 2941.



Political considerations for the appointment and promotion of teachers could also be assumed in the case of a teacher named Gladisch, who joined the teaching-staff of the Marien-Gymnasium in 1832. Although he was one of the few teachers who did not speak Polish, he remained at the school until 1844. "That year, after the appointment of Dr. Prabucki as the new principal of the Marien-Gymnasium, and after that tendency began to develop that resulted in the closure of the Gymnasium in 1846, he was asked to leave his position and to wait for another appropriate appointment; until then, he was given his full salary."<sup>25</sup> In the meantime he spent a number of years doing research in Halle, Leipzig, and Berlin. Although Leuchtenberger calls him "a highly gifted man", an entirely different account was given by Gladisch's superiors in 1844, i.e., when he was relieved from his duties. After an inspection by the Minister Eichorn himself, the latter reported to the President-in-Chief the deficiencies of Gladisch as a teacher, and he suggested to find Gladisch a position where those professional weaknesses could not be felt.<sup>26</sup>

After the death of Monski, the then principal of the Real-schule Krotoschin, his designated successor was obviously W. Schoenborn who had been teaching at the school for years. He was supported by most members of the magistrate, whereas the candidacy of Gladisch for the vacancy was backed by the Ministry and the Provincial Education

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<sup>25</sup> Gottlieb Leuchtenberger, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Krotoschin (Krotoschin: Friedrich A. Kosmaehl, 1886), p. 20.

<sup>26</sup> Report from Eichhorn, of May 12, 1844. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8933.





Commission. An instruction issued by the Minister of Education, von Ladenberg, already precluded the outcome of the competition: He decreed that, whenever there was a vacant teaching-position in Protestant or mixed schools of the Grand Duchy, Professor Gladisch was the first candidate to be considered, and new appointments should only be confirmed after the suitability or non-suitability of Gladisch had been established for that specific position.<sup>27</sup> The decree was the more surprising since Gladisch was Catholic. He was eventually appointed as the new principal with half of the votes in his favour, the rest against him. No specific justifications for the authorities' exceptional concern for the career of their favourite over a five-year period could be found, and the most likely explanation is the existence of strong political motives, especially in the light of Eichhorn's dismal evaluation of Gladisch's qualifications as a teacher.

The revolutionary period that began in the Grand Duchy in 1846 culminated, as far as the schools are concerned, in the dissolution of the Marien-Gymnasium by the government. Szuman's claim, however, namely that all the Polish teachers had been dismissed, appears to be only partially justified: A good number of the teachers whose names indicate Polish nationality were apparently dismissed or transferred, for example, Dr. Cegielski, Dr. Bronikowski, Dr. Gruszcinski, Dr. Prusinowski, Dr. Prabucki, Dr. Motty, and Hebanowski; some others were obviously retained, and only four new teachers, namely Dr. Brettner,

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<sup>27</sup>Instruction from the Minister von Ladenberg, of January 2, 1849, as quoted in Leuchtenberger, Geschichte der Anstalt zu Kroto-  
schin.



Dr. Steiner, Dr. Dzialek and Dr. Hepke had been appointed or transferred to the school as replacements.

The political events of 1848 changed the Grand Duchy's situation markedly. The Posener Wochenblatt fuer Eltern und Erzieher expressed the rising expectations in its editorial:

At a time when the association of equally minded, and the union of equally active, for the pursuit and promotion of their interests, are no longer considered by the state as endangering its security, but as the genuine life-spirit of a healthy state-organism that needs to be recognized and supported, then the schools cannot stand behind other institutions in striving for a modern constitution.<sup>28</sup>

More specifically, the journal demanded changes in the role of the schools in general, and of the teachers in particular; with regard to the latter, it was felt that their basic human rights ought to be fully recognized, since "there is no social group that has been more tutored, held in leading-strings, and even ridiculed than that of the teachers .... Free human beings can only be brought up by somebody who is free himself, free from all the depressing, humiliating conditions of life."<sup>29</sup> But also in the teachers' association a polarization of German and Polish interests existed right from the beginning, and the journal Szkola Polska as the organ for the Polish teachers was just the external manifestation of the split.

The articles in the Wochenblatt focussed on integrative educational policies, and here the discussion of the place of patriotism

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<sup>28</sup> Editorial written by Dr. Barth, in Posener Wochenblatt fuer Eltern und Lehrer, published by the Central Teachers' Association of the Province of Posen, No. 1 and 2, September 14, 1848, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Posener Wochenblatt fuer Eltern und Lehrer, p. 5.



in education formed one of the issues in 1849. The difference between the neo-humanistic approach of almost forty years ago, and the stance taken in the journal is obvious, although one might even speak of a moderate position taken by the editor: Instruction and education form the man as well as the citizen, and both objectives are normally part of the schools' responsibility. But since the state wishes to see the young brought up as good citizens, there is the clear mandate for the schools to educate also for patriotism. However, and here the difference can be felt from the flag-waving patriotic education of the later part of the nineteenth century, patriotism was conceived of as an extension of the love for the family and one's native region; the all-encompassing love for humanity (Allgemeine Menschheitsliebe) was to be the ultimate objective:

True patriotism is founded in humanity, without which patriotism is nothing less than plurified egotism.... . . . The fake patriot considers hatred of other nationals as an integral part of patriotism, while the true patriot seeks to protect the happiness, the honour, and the freedom of his country from enemies within and outside its boundaries; he does not participate in acts of injustice against other nations.<sup>30</sup>

Although one might find it difficult to image how the 'true' patriot determines the parameters of an 'inner enemy', and of what constitutes 'national honour', there was at least the well-meant distinction between desirable and undesirable manifestations of patriotism. A pronouncement stemming from Prussia proper, issued at approximately the same time, exhibited an entirely different concept of patriotism.

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<sup>30</sup>M. Budwig, "Ueber Patriotismus und Erziehung zu demselben", in Posener Wochenblatt fuer Eltern und Lehrer, No. 19, May 12, 1849, pp. 145-47.



Here the 1848-revolution was assessed as a civil war, and

whoever is to succumb; the north-eastern hordes and the south-western bands of Europe will rush to the support of their friends on the blood-soaked, world-historical plains of Germany. Germany's cities, those temples of freedom, Germany's rivers, those sources of wealth, will perish, and German education will be replaced by northern and eastern barbarism.<sup>31</sup>

To protect their charges from becoming intellectually crippled was the immediate task for Prussian teachers, and what was needed was education for patriotism, education for deep faith in the laws and for the defense of all the civic virtues. The goal was to fight for a strong, self-conscientious national freedom.

The delegates of the various provinces had meanwhile gathered in Berlin for the discussion of, and possible proposals for, educational reforms in secondary schools. The Grand Duchy was represented by Dr. Brettner and the principal of Meseritz, Gaebel. The various schools had submitted their suggestions of changes desired, some of which will be discussed elsewhere. In general, the language-issue was deemed to be the most pressing problem, but also demands for some national, i.e., Polish history in Prima were made.<sup>32</sup> The need for patriotic education was one of the major topics discussed extensively at the Berlin-conference. However, the motion for including into the recommendations the passage, "high-schools are to be assigned with the education for a patriotic sentiment" was defeated by three against

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<sup>31</sup>"Aufruf an den gesamten deutschen Lehrerstand" by Friedrich Kapp. Hamm, 1848.

<sup>32</sup>Acta Gimmazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.





nine votes.<sup>33</sup>

In the Grand Duchy's secondary schools the disruptions caused by the revolutionary events were possibly more widespread, although not as intense as compared to 1830. Most of the schools had to be closed because of the unrest, the one at Tremessen for almost three months. Two of the school's teachers, Dr. Ney and Brzezinski, were suspended from their duties for an unspecified time. On the other hand, the Grand Duchy's teachers also sent three delegates as representatives of the province to the National Assemblies: Dr. Piegsa from the Gymnasium of Tremessen was delegated for Berlin, and Kerst, the principal of the Realschule Meseritz together with Dr. Loew from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium were sent to Frankfurt; Kerst's role must have been questionable since he was apparently not admitted into the Committee (Fuenfzigerausschuss) of the National Assembly.<sup>34</sup> It deserves mentioning in this context that Kerst, as well as Gaebel and the teacher Holzschuher, all from Meseritz, have been described as spokesmen who were "imbued with glowing patriotism" and defended the German interests against the Polish claims for an independent Polish part of the Grand Duchy.<sup>35</sup>

Administrative measures to tighten political control and to

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<sup>33</sup>Proceedings of the Conference on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools in Berlin, April 14 to May 14, 1849, p. 118. See also Supplement A, p. 134 of the minutes of the conference. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.

<sup>34</sup>Christian Meyer, Geschichte der Provinz Posen (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891), p. 239.

<sup>35</sup>Meyer, Geschichte der Provinz Posen, p. 227.



curb the short-lived separatist movement among the Polish population were introduced in early 1849. After students had been forbidden to join political parties in December 1844, teachers were now informed that in cases of political offences the legal authorities would be prosecuting, and if sentences were passed, additional disciplinary measures against the respective teachers would be taken.<sup>36</sup> In May 1849, the activities of the Polish League (Liga Polska) became a matter of concern, and six months later teachers were generally warned not to attend the meetings of the said association. Shortly afterwards this instruction was extended by a ministerial decree that teachers were not permitted to have any links with groups "that follow tendencies hostile to the government".<sup>37</sup> Whereas in former times political behaviour of students and teachers had been controlled administratively in that the educational authorities investigated and, if necessary, punished political nonconformism, now the law-enforcing authorities could intervene if 'hostile tendencies' were suspected. Finally, in April 1850, the teachers were sworn in on the Constitution, and the linking of promotion to higher offices with a conformist political attitude was officially sanctioned by an instruction that only those teachers could expect to be promoted and honoured "who distinguished themselves not only through

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<sup>36</sup> Ministerial instruction of January 4, 1849, quoted in Jahresbericht des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1849.

<sup>37</sup> Ministerial instruction of May 3, 1849, quoted in Jahresbericht des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1850.



blameless professional conduct, but additionally through exemplary moral and political behaviour and through loyalty to the King and adherence to the laws".<sup>38</sup>

(d) The Ethnic Composition of the Teaching Staff

The dearth of specific data on the teachers of the Grand Duchy during the early nineteenth century impedes a thorough analysis of their academic, social, and ethnic background. But with the information available a number of conclusions can be suggested, although their tentative character has to be emphasized.

Only in 45 of the 219 teachers' biographical records was a clear indication of their denominational status provided, and for this reason the equation of Catholic and Polish, or of Protestant and German would not help in obtaining a large enough sample. But, as mentioned in the discussion of the Grand Duchy's student population, there is a certain correlation of names and ethnicity, and some names can be labeled as being 'typically' German, and a different group as being 'typically' Polish. There are, nonetheless, exceptions. As has been pointed out previously, a considerable number of Catholics was not Polish, and there were obviously also some Protestant Poles. The same applies to names: Bearers of 'Polish' names were at times German, the same as a number of Poles had 'German' names. The aforementioned teacher Braun, for example, was in all likelihood of Polish stock despite his 'German' name. He had participated in the Polish regiments in the 1830-uprising, and additionally he had tried to minimize contact between Polish and German teachers after he had joined the Marien-Gymnasium in the 1820's.

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<sup>38</sup> Instruction of January 30, 1851, quoted in Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1850-51.



With these limitations in mind, the following composition of the Grand Duchy's teaching-force can be suggested: Of the 219 teachers, 111 or 50.7% were of German origin, as compared to 94 or 42.9% of Polish nationality; 14 names could not be classified, or their bearers were of French nationality (6.4%). The school with a clear majority of Polish teachers was the Marien-Gymnasium, and also the Gymnasium of Tremessen had fewer German teachers than Polish ones.<sup>39</sup> Conversely, the Realschule of Meseritz, the Gymnasium of Bromberg, and the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium had a strong majority of German teachers.

Accounting for all the teachers who taught at an individual school during the period under discussions,<sup>40</sup> a total of 260 names can be found, of whom 232 can be categorized as 'German' or 'Polish'; their distribution during the three periods was as follows:

Table 48:

| Period  | Polish teachers | German teachers | Total |
|---------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1815-30 | 31 (13.4%)      | 34 (14.7%)      | 65    |
| 1831-40 | 29 (12.5%)      | 50 (21.6%)      | 79    |
| 1841-50 | 47 (20.3%)      | 41 (17.7%)      | 88    |
| Sum     | 107 (46.1%)     | 125 (53.9%)     | 232   |

<sup>39</sup>The teachers whose names appeared more than once have been included in the school where they had been employed first.

<sup>40</sup>Forty-one teachers were transferred within the Grand Duchy, a few of those several times; Professor Monski, for instance, taught at the Marien-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium of Lissa, the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, and the Realschule Krotoschin during those thirty-five years.





The figures reflect the growth of the teaching-force, commensurate with the expansion of the province's secondary institutions. Among Polish teachers, a distinct increase can be noticed during the third period, whereas the 'maximum' for German teachers was marked during the Flottwell-years. One possible explanation is the establishment of three 'Protestant' schools in those years, namely the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, the Realschule Meseritz and the Realschule of Krotoschin, as compared to only one 'Catholic' school, namely the Gymnasium of Tremessen. Another explanation is the deliberate attempt to germanize the schools by drastically increasing the German portion of the teaching-staff; here Flottwell's concern for the expansion of educational facilities and their upgrading would fit into the picture.

A specification of Table 48 according to the individual schools indicates where the major shifts occurred:

Table 49:

| Years                  | Polish teachers | German teachers | Total |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|
| Marien-Gymnasium:      |                 |                 |       |
| 1815-30                | 18              | 14              | 32    |
| 1831-40                | 16              | 13              | 29    |
| 1841-50                | 21              | 3               | 24    |
| Gymnasium of Bromberg: |                 |                 |       |
| 1815-30                | 3               | 13              | 16    |
| 1831-40                | 2               | 4               | 6     |
| 1841-50                | 2               | 9               | 11    |
| Gymnasium of Lissa:    |                 |                 |       |
| 1815-30                | 10              | 7               | 17    |



|                               |   |    |    |
|-------------------------------|---|----|----|
| 1831-40                       | 3 | 6  | 9  |
| 1841-50                       | 6 | 5  | 11 |
| Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium: |   |    |    |
| 1831-40                       | 2 | 12 | 14 |
| 1841-50                       | 2 | 10 | 12 |
| Gymnasium of Tremessen:       |   |    |    |
| 1831-40                       | 3 | 3  | 6  |
| 1841-50                       | 8 | 2  | 10 |
| Realschule Meseritz:          |   |    |    |
| 1831-40                       | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| 1841-50                       | 0 | 5  | 5  |
| Realschule Krotoschin:        |   |    |    |
| 1831-40                       | 3 | 2  | 5  |
| 1841-50                       | 3 | 6  | 9  |
| Gymnasium of Ostrowo:         |   |    |    |
| 1841-50                       | 5 | 1  | 6  |

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Since the first pair of figures refers to the staff-composition at the time of the establishment of the respective school, these figures are normally the highest ones, and the figures given for subsequent periods are new appointments, replacements, or transfers; only in the case of Tremessen and Krotoschin was the initial figure substantially increased during the next period, probably due to the expansion of the schools. The continually high figures for the Marien-Gymnasium point at a remarkably high rate of turnover, and the same appears to be true for the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. With regard to the Gymnasium of Bromberg and the one at Lissa, the relative stability during the



second period is striking, whereas some change seems to have occurred during the third period. A further notable fact is the total absence of Polish teachers at the Realschule Meseritz throughout the years. Finally, the 'polonization' at the Marien-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium of Tremessen, and, of course, the Gymnasium of Ostrowo was strongest during the 1841-1850 period, while the 'germanization' of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium of Bromberg, and the forerunner of the Realschule Krotoschin happened at the same time. The Gymnasium of Lissa, again, showed a fairly balanced picture. In sum, the years after the Flottwell-era were characterized by a certain polarization as far as the teaching-staff is concerned, a process that had presumably been impossible during the Flottwell-years.

Of the 108 teachers whose place of study is known, 34 had studied at Breslau University, 32 in Berlin, 20 in Halle, and 8 in Koenigsberg. Other universities mentioned were Leipzig (3), Cracow (3), Bonn (3), but also Greifswald, Rostock, Wittenberg, and Heidelberg. The distribution by schools shows some differences:

Table 50:

| School             | Breslau                  | Berlin | Halle | Koenigsberg | Leipzig | Cracow | Bonn |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------|-------------|---------|--------|------|
| Marien-Gymnasium   | 12                       | 6      | 4     | 5           | 1       | 2      | 1    |
| Bromberg           | 4                        | 8      | 5     | 1           | 2       | 0      | 1    |
| Lissa              | 2                        | 3      | 1     | 0           | 1       | 0      | 0    |
| Friedrich-Wilh.-G. | 6                        | 10     | 8     | 0           | 0       | 1      | 0    |
| Tremessen          | no information available |        |       |             |         |        |      |
| Meseritz           | 3                        | 3      | 1     | 1           | 0       | 0      | 0    |
| Krotoschin         | 6                        | 2      | 1     | 1           | 0       | 0      | 1    |



|         |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ostrowo | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

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Looking at the two 'closest' universities first, Breslau was clearly more strongly represented among the teachers at the Marien-Gymnasium, whereas Berlin was dominant at Bromberg and the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. Assuming that Breslau was more congenial for Catholic and Polish students, those figures would strengthen the argument that the Marien-Gymnasium was the most 'Catholic' gymnasium. But also another aspect deserves mentioning: The proportion of 'Catholic'-university trained teachers to 'Protestant'-university trained teachers was for the two 'Catholic' schools 15 to 17 (including Cracow), and for the other schools 22 to 50. In other words, the genuinely Protestant/Prussian influence via teachers employed was almost matched by teachers trained at Breslau and Cracow at the Marien-Gymnasium (and presumably at Ostrowo). On the other hand, in the 'non-Catholic' schools the influence exercised by teachers who had been trained at other Prussian (or German) universities can be assumed to have been very strong.

For only 18 out of the 219 teachers are data available on their social background; moreover, 14 of them can be categorized as German and therefore conclusions are unwarranted. And yet there are some startling aspects: Of the eighteen teachers, nine were the sons of clergymen, and their names indicate German origin. The parental occupation of the other half ranges from government councillor, forester, member of the legislative assembly, non-commissioned officer, landowner, owner of a hauling-company, to soap-maker. The data available indicate that of the teachers employed in the Grand Duchy's schools, a great number came from upper- to lower middle-class families.





(e) The Ethnic Origin of the Higher Officials

The immediate level between the educational administration as such and the teachers were the principals and their deputies who, in the case of the Marien-Gymnasium, had the specific function of an academic director (Studiendirektor). The most difficult position of the principals as the ones who were responsible and accountable for academic achievement, but also for political stability and discipline in their schools has already been discussed. An analysis of the data that are available with respect to their ethnic, social, and academic backgrounds provides some interesting information.

Altogether twenty-five names for this level appear to cover adequately the entire 1815-1850 period, and 18 of them suggest German origin (72 percent), the rest Polish nationality. With regard to their places of birth, 10 were born in Prussia or other German lands (40 percent), 5 were natives of the geographical area of the Grand Duchy (20 percent), and one was born in the later Kingdom of Poland (4 percent); the remainder of 9 teachers could not be identified.

In terms of the years of their appointments, the table below provides some significant changes:

Table 51:

| Years   | German origin   | Polish origin | Total |
|---------|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 1815-30 | Kaulfuss        | Cassius       | 7     |
|         | Mueller         | von Buchowski |       |
|         | von Stoephasius | Stoc          |       |
|         | Jacob           |               |       |



|         |           |           |    |
|---------|-----------|-----------|----|
| 1831-40 | Meissner  | Monski    | 7  |
|         | Wendt     |           |    |
|         | Kerst     |           |    |
|         | Schoeler  |           |    |
|         | Froelich  |           |    |
|         | Gaebel    |           |    |
| 1841-50 | Kiesling  | Prabucki  | 11 |
|         | Brettner  | Mielewski |    |
|         | Ziegler   | Dziadek   |    |
|         | Deinhardt |           |    |
|         | Enger     |           |    |
|         | Gladisch  |           |    |
|         | Loew      |           |    |
|         | Heidemann |           |    |

The most balanced representation of the two ethnic groups existed during the first period; appointments during the second period favoured applicants of 'German' nationality, and only one 'Polish' principal was appointed. This finding would coincide with the overall decline in the number of Polish teachers employed between 1831-1840, as indicated in Table 48. Relatively more 'Polish' principals were appointed during the third period, but also the number of 'German' principals increased. Proportionally, the ratio was 57 % to 45% for the first period, 86% to 14% for the second, and 73% to 27% for the third period.

Regarding the principals' academic background, data for 15 individuals are available. Five were trained at Breslau University, four each in Berlin and Halle, and the other two in Koenigsberg and



Leipzig. Thus about the same proportion, namely 5 to 10, (as compared to 22 to 50 among teachers) existed as far as Breslau-trained principals to 'Protestant'-universities trained principals are concerned.

On the next level in the administrative hierarchy, ten members of the Provincial Education Commission will be discussed. All but two, i.e., Dr. Jacob and Fechner who were not identical with teachers of the same names, had taught in one of the secondary schools of the Grand Duchy at some time. With the exception of Dr. Mielewski and Bogedain, all the names suggest German origin (see Appendix A), and of the four whose place of birth is known, none was born in the later Grand Duchy. As in the case of the principals, Breslau University and Halle University were the places for academic training in two instances each, while Berlin was mentioned once. Prior to their appointments as members of the Provincial Education Commission, von Stoephasius had taught in Prussia and in Warsaw, Wendt had taught in Berlin, Brettnner in Gleiwitz, and Kiesling in Zeitz.

With the appointment of Dr. Mielewski and Bogedain, the first two presumably Polish teachers became members of the Commission in or around 1850, which might be an indication of a change in overall educational policies during the middle of the century. The former had been a teacher at Lissa, Ostrowo, and Posen since 1843, while the latter, after having taught Catholic religious studies at Bromberg, became a teacher at the clerical seminary at Posen and was appointed its principal before he moved into the Education Commission.

Since the various Presidents-in-Chief were only indirectly concerned with education, little needs to be said at this point; their



role will be discussed in some detail later on. Suffice it to say that they all had been brought in from outside the province, and the duration of their terms of office seems to reflect their impact on the province's educational system: Zerboni di Sposetti and Flottwell were probably the most influential presidents-in-chief, and their different approaches to solving the educational problems adequately reflect the different historical and political circumstances of their times.

Turning now to the highest level of the administrative hierarchy, all the various ministers of education showed a diversified regional background, representing 'German' rather than 'Prussian' origin; the same can be said of the majority of the senior officials of the ministry. Their academic training was therefore reflecting a variety of influences, as far as universities are concerned, although the fields of studies show some similarities.

Of the ministers themselves, von Altenstein and Eichhorn deserve special mentioning since their terms of office coincided with the most important years of the period under discussion. Their training might perhaps best capture the changes that had occurred between the early reform-years and the 1840's: Von Altenstein (1770-1840) had studied natural sciences and law in Jena, Erlangen, and Goettingen before he joined the Prussian administration in 1793, whereas Eichhorn (1779-1856) had studied law and state-law at Goettingen University; he joined the Prussian civil service in 1800. The other three ministers, von Schwerin, Rodbertus, and von Ladenberg had attended the universities in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Goettingen, and they were, as well, academically trained administrators rather than scholars, with the excep-





tion of Rodbertus. And although their lack of educational expertise was not necessarily a decisive shortcoming with regard to their governmental responsibilities, the lack of experience in educational matters could also be witnessed among senior ministerial officials, increasingly so after 1824. Especially important for the present discussion is the fact that none of them had had any connections with the schools of the Grand Duchy whatsoever; except for Nicolovius who was born in Koenigsberg and who had studied in his home-town, and also for Suevern who had for some time been principal at the Gymnasium of Thorn and the Gymnasium of Elbing before he became professor in Koenigsberg, none of the high-ranking officials appears to have had a deeper knowledge and understanding of the eastern provinces in general, and of the Grand Duchy in particular. More will have to be said about those senior officials when the influence of the administration will be discussed.

#### (f) Tentative Conclusions Concerning Teachers, Principals, and Officials

An assessment of the various levels of educational decision-making in and for the schools of the province suggests a number of conclusions. Most importantly, a variety of pressures was influencing the way in which teachers saw their role in education, and most of those influences were certainly experienced by all high-school teachers of the Prussian monarchy at that time. And yet, the specific situation of the secondary schools in the Grand Duchy modified and also added to those pressures; a few of them warrant a more detailed discussion. Both Polish and German teachers had to respond to the public, i.e., the respective ethnic communities expected them to uphold national



values in their teaching, and this pressure increased considerably towards the 1840's when the revolutionary years intensified the polarization of German and Polish national feelings. This is not to say that teachers of both groups merely reacted to public expectations and demands; ethnic biases among many German teachers obviously existed as early as the 1820's, and the negative image of the Poles as it had become a tradition among a great number of German 'educated' people was certainly colouring the expectations of some teachers when they were transferred to the Grand Duchy. Conversely, remembering 'the good old days' of Polish independence, even if it had been confined within the boundaries of control by the French during the years 1807-1814, determined to some degree the attitude of many Polish teachers towards education. Thus there were 'external' and 'internal' pressures on the teachers from 'below'; they were, with the growing bureaucratization, also confronted with an ever increasing flood of regulations, decrees, cabinet orders, i.e., with pressures from 'above'. And since in this case the source was solely the Prussian administrative apparatus, Polish and German teachers reacted to it in various ways. At least for the early years was a 'passive resistance' noticeable among many Polish teachers, flaring up in 1830/31 and again after 1846. Another means of resistance was 'withdrawal' of support in the sense of giving up teaching in the Grand Duchy altogether, or drawing a separating line between Polish and German teachers. But there was also the attempt and the willingness to cooperate and thereby to make the best of the situation.

Similar reactions could be observed among German teachers.



Regulations from above were interpreted more favourably for the needs of the schools of the province most of all during the early years, and again in 1848. It appears, however, that adherence to 'the letter of the law' was most pronounced among those teachers who were brought into the Grand Duchy after 1824, although here, as well, not all the German teachers reacted in the same way. But the relatively frequent inspections of the schools by members of the upper echelons of the administration, from members of the Provincial Education Commission up to the ministers themselves, presumably were intended and actually succeeded in enforcing regulations and minimizing more 'liberal' interpretations.

Closely related is the system of rewards and punishment that helped to secure conformity among teachers. Already the career-requirement of in-service training for probationary teachers (Lehramts-kandidaten) was an important measure of socializing the young teacher into the values and norms of the teaching-force; the fact that permanent employment was dependent upon an examination administered by the state authorities, meant an additional safeguard against academically or politically unsuitable candidates. Material and non-material incentives, such as salary-scales and promotions, decorations and titles were devised to promote some competition among teachers not only for professional excellence, but also for a reputation as a 'reliable' and 'loyal' state servant. At this point the significance of the Grand Duchy as an area for proving his 'competency' might have been an incentive for many a high-school teacher in Prussia proper to be transferred to the province: The relatively 'open' opportunity-structure



of secondary education in the Grand Duchy offered a chance for ambitious teachers to establish a reputation for themselves which would form part of the personal files (Konduitenliste) kept by the central administration. Since these files were not open to inspection, the individual teacher had to strive hard to ensure that the periodically prescribed entries were favourable. As a result, teaching in the Grand Duchy was for many German teachers the first stepping-stone for a career in Prussia proper, and principals like Kaulfuss, Deinhardt, and Kerst, to name just a few of them, could actually establish themselves among the most reputable spokesmen in Prussian secondary education. The point is: under the specific conditions of the Grand Duchy it was easier for the individual teacher from the old provinces to prove that he had internalized the professional values of a 'Prussian' teacher, than it was for him in Prussia proper where competition was much stronger.

It is against this background that the tensions existing between Prussian teachers and the public, their students, and their Polish colleagues has to be seen. Changes in the administration, such as the events in the central ministry in Berlin in 1824, the appointment of Flottwell as President-in-Chief, the change in the office of the minister in 1840 and particularly during the years 1848-50, increased or lessened those pressures from above not only on Polish teachers, but perhaps even more so on German teachers, whenever they considered their teaching-assignments in the Grand Duchy as a passing stage only.

Looking now at the data presented in the present chapter





more specifically, one can conclude that the teaching-force displayed a considerable degree of 'Polishness' which, however, varied over the years. The ethnic climate was certainly complicated by the propensity of the educational administration to emphasize the denominational character of the schools by means of staffing them with teachers of the same denomination. As a consequence, tensions within the respective schools were lessened, but at the same time would the polarization of Catholic/Polish and Protestant/German schools promote strife between the schools, e.g. in Posen, and between the school and the public, e.g. in Ostrowo. Attempts to bridge the gulf between Polish and German teachers, laudable as they were, had only limited effects. Especially the second period 1831-40 appears to reflect most strongly the 'germanization' of the teaching-force, and the influence of Flottwell's conceptions of his role as the President-in-Chief was here definitely operative. At approximately the same time the tightening of governmental regulations showed its effects in that the secondary schools were, as Brunck claims<sup>41</sup>, 'streamlined' in the sense of eliminating differences between the individual schools based on the teachers' or the principals' own concepts of teaching and educating. The resulting uniformity was, however, more or less superficial, since especially the Polish teachers were rather reluctant to comply fully and had therefore to be reprimanded over and over again. Thus even in the late 1840's were their demands for more 'Polishness' in the gymnasia as strong as ever before.

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<sup>41</sup>W. Brunck and H. Sudheimer (eds.), Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817-1827 (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Gebrueder Hoffmann, o.J.), pp. 9-10.



Another aspect that deserves mentioning is the gradual overrepresentation of administrative personnel in the middle and upper levels of the educational bureaucracy brought in from outside the Grand Duchy and carrying with them preconceived ideas of what their major responsibilities would be like. While this was true to a great extent already at the level of the principals and their deputies, even stronger Prusso-German representation at the expense of 'native' representation was found among members of the Provincial Education Commission or higher authorities. Here the crucial weakness of the government's educational policy for the province can be found: The increasing German nature of the upper echelons of the hierarchy must have affected the feedback that reached the Ministry from the Grand Duchy, and since officials with a fair knowledge and understanding of the Polish culture and the complex nature of the nationality-problems existing in the province seem to have been extremely scarce, a biased picture of the province's situation was almost inevitable.

The point just made was even compounded by another aspect. There is some indication that over the years a process of erosion of educational expertise among the top officials set in. While the top administrators, like Altenstein, Suevern, and Nicolovius had acquired a broad philosophical foundation for their administrative functions during their university studies, this seems to have less frequently been the case in later years. Their successors were more often than not recruited from the ranks of academically trained jurists, who, then, depended in their decisions on the advice of other officials, or imposed their rationalizing, legalistic conceptions on the ways



in which educational problems were to be solved. In other words, and here Bernstein's terminology is quite appropriate, the 'framing' of educational knowledge, i.e., the degree of control that teachers possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted,<sup>42</sup> was increasingly determined not by educational specialists, but by representatives of jurisprudence.

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<sup>42</sup>Bernstein, "Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge", p. 50.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CURRICULAR POLICIES IN SOME SELECTED AREAS

The way in which educational policies are put into practice depends, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, on the teaching-force to the extent that it is the teachers with whom the learners are directly confronted. Therefore the competence of the teacher, but also his commitment to the dominant educational philosophy partly determine the 'success' of his activities. But there are two more factors which considerably influence the kind of knowledge that will be transmitted within the education process, one being the curriculum, the other one the concept of education as it was perceived by the upper levels of the educational administration. This is not the place to analyze the intricate interconnections between schools, universities, public opinion, and administration, as they each make their impact felt as to what 'the curriculum' should consist of. The following brief comments are therefore only meant to outline two strands of thought that will be applied in the discussion of curricular policies.

In following T.S. Kuhn<sup>1</sup>, the body of knowledge at a given point in time is an expression of the dominant 'paradigm', i.e., the foundational concepts of science in the wide sense, shared by the

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Second Edition, 1970).





scientific community of a culture. Paradigm-shifts occur with the emergence of new key-concepts in scientific thought and are thus subject to historical analysis. In the context of the present chapter, the curricula of the secondary schools reflected to some degree the transition from the mechanistic and rationalistic concept of science as it had characterized the late eighteenth century, to what might be called an 'organismic' paradigm, as it was developed by the discoveries made in the biological sciences, and as it began to penetrate philosophical, political, but also educational thought. With regard to curricular policies, the new paradigm called for more 'natural history' in the schools, thereby indirectly strengthening the cause of the Realschul-movement in its quest for equal partnership with the gymnasias in secondary education. But also in educational philosophy were ideas such as 'nurturing' the mind, and strengthening the 'powers of the soul' so that it can 'grow' and 'develop', increasingly used in the literature.

A second analytic model applied to the present discussion has already been mentioned in the previous chapter: Contemporary sociology of education, and here more specifically sociology of knowledge has begun to examine curricula as socially organized knowledge. Occasional references to curricular questions in previous chapters, as for instance in the discussion of the concepts of 'national' and 'nationalist' education, have already hinted at the dependence of curricular issues upon social and political values. Going now one step further, the emphasis on 'law and order' in the schools and in public life in general can be interpreted as the rationalization of the principle that the state (and



society), conceived of as 'organism', could only flourish as long as the constituent parts cooperated harmoniously in pursuit of a common objective; disruptions of social and political life were thus unacceptable and had to be 'cured' and, if necessary, forcefully eliminated, rather than taken into account as potential points of departure for the development of a 'new' paradigm. This idea seems to be vividly expressed in the following statement in which the 'poisonous infection' of the young students by the teachings of demagogues should be counteracted, in that it was the ultimate objective of teaching history to ensure stability:

The love for the fatherland, irrespective of its darker sides, respect for its judicial institutions irrespective of their shortcomings and inconveniences, esteem for the Royal House and the authorities despite their faults and weaknesses, have to be explained to the youthful souls as being founded in the historical experience that all human plans and actions, and all human thought and endeavours show by means of their deficiencies their human origin and essence. Non-rational and frantic destruction and demolition of the existing order will, then, not produce such terrifying scenes in our fatherland, as they have elsewhere shaken the state's life in its roots, and smashed the most solid pillars of civic society in their foundations.<sup>2</sup>

The conservatism expressed in the statement suggests that historical knowledge had to be organized and presented in a way that was conducive to the attainment of the stipulated objective, thereby giving priority to concepts and historical events which would serve the purpose at hand, rather than present history in all its complexity. But in establishing priorities a decision is being made as to what ought to be taught first and thus receive more emphasis, as compared to what should possibly not

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<sup>2</sup>August Berger, Die Idee des Realgymnasiums (Leipzig: Verlag der J.C. Hinrichsschen Buchhandlung, 1845), p. 135.



be taught at all. As M. Young argues, "it may be through this idea of the stratification of knowledge that we can suggest relations between the patterns of dominant values and the distribution of rewards and power, and the organization of knowledge".<sup>3</sup>

The present chapter will examine whether or not the distinction between 'high-value' and 'low-value' knowledge can also be applied to secondary education in the Grand Duchy and, if this was the case, to determine the degree to which this distinction was politically relevant with regard to the two nationalities attending school.

When the structural changes following the 1815-reforms were previously discussed, some of the curricular problems were already mentioned. One of the recurring criticisms of educators in the late nineteenth century in assessing the curricula of the Polish schools after 1773 was the lack of 'unity' of the various subjects offered. Underlying such an assumption was the conviction that this 'unity' existed in Prusso-German education: At least initially, the classical studies, i.e., Greek, Latin, ancient history and literature provided the centre around which the remaining subjects were located, and the 'value' of a discipline could almost be determined by its proximity to this centre. As a consequence, realism was conceived of as having its place in everyday life, serving the average citizen in his pursuit of earning a livelihood, but the 'educated' man was to see this objective as subordinate to the primary goal, namely to have internalized the ideals of the Greeks

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<sup>3</sup>Michael F.D. Young, "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organized Knowledge" in M.F.D. Young (ed.), Knowledge and Control (London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1971), p. 34.





and the Romans, based on scholarly studies. Conversely, by making Polish not only the language of instruction rather than Latin, but assigning it a prominent place in the overall curriculum of the National Schools, the thrust of the reforms by the Commission for National Education was less cosmopolitan than the Prussian approach, and the 'national' objective was more specifically spelled out in the guideline for the teaching of history: "The chief end of history is the inculcation of virtue and integrity", and "whenever the teacher comes to consider the history of particular countries, he should give pride of place to the history of Poland, and thereafter . . . that of the states related to her by ties of neighbourhood, common interest or similarity of political system".<sup>4</sup> Together with religious instruction and the newly devised course in secular moral philosophy, history was part of the moral-education programme. Particularly the inclusion of social aspects at the expense of military and dynastic history, as suggested by Kollataj, were supposedly reinforcing the socializing intentions of the reformers. This more 'mundane', practical orientation was also visible in the prominent place that was given to subjects such as mathematics, natural history, agriculture, and economics; the development of economic, social, and political values became an additional part of secondary education. The backwardness of Polish agriculture, but also of the manufacturing industries and of commerce was to be overcome by means of strengthening

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<sup>4</sup>Quoted from J. Lewicki, Educational Legislation of the Period of the Commission for National Education, by R. Szreter, "Education for Nation-Saving: Poland between the Partitions", in T.G. Cook (ed.), The History of Education in Europe (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1974), p. 57.





the students' awareness of existing socio-economic deficiencies and of appealing to their patriotism. Increased social cohesion was seen as the pre-requisite for ameliorating the plight of the nation.

But not only did the Partitions impede the implementation of those ambitious plans. Attempts by the Commission to educate the peasantry through the establishment of elementary schools in the parishes soon encountered opposition from the other social strata of the country, namely the clergy, the gentry, and the gradually emerging middle-class townspeople. When the Commission was dissolved in 1794, its ideas were, as Szreter claims, systematically suppressed, especially in the Prussian and Austrian parts of the country. Although this may generally be correct, there were exceptions, such as the plan for the Royal Lyceum of Warsaw, conceptualized in 1804.<sup>5</sup>

Jeismann considers the 'Warsaw-plan' as an exceptional alternative for secondary education in Prussia, both with respect to its total lack of Prussian historical antecedents, and also to the fact that the plan was designed not by educationists, but by administrative experts. Pragmatic considerations prevailed, and had this plan been fully implemented and eventually proven to be 'stronger' than the influence of philosophical idealism and classical humanism, Prussian secondary education might have taken a different course. There is some irony in the intention of combining academic and practical education as required

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<sup>5</sup>The Warsaw-plan is discussed in more detail by Karl-Ernst Jeismann, Das preussische Gymnasium in Staat und Gesellschaft (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1974), pp. 201-02. One of the leading organizers had been Suevern; classical and modern languages were to be given the same considerations as mathematics and history/geography. The natural sciences received due consideration and were closely linked to 'technology'.



by the various 'civic' professions, like people in trade and commerce, in the arts, and the higher ranks of the military, who "were in need of higher culture, without the explicit scholarship promoted by the universities"; these principles had been at the basis of the Polish educational reforms in the late eighteenth century.

It is the attempt to integrate the school and its curricular offerings into existing socio-economic conditions and needs that gave the Warsaw-plan, at least from our vantage point, its modern perspective. However, to conceive of the Prussian reforms in secondary education during those years as otherwise neglecting socio-political and socio-economic implications would be misleading. Schleiermacher's assessment of the reform-proposals developed by Suevern<sup>6</sup> clearly indicate the need for curricular differentiation, although the unitary concept inherent in the Warsaw-plan was here replaced by institutional or structural differentiation, i.e., different curricular conceptions should be served by different types of schools. More specifically, he suggested the elimination of classical languages from all the schools except the gymnasia, and, instead, the expansion of German as a subject, and of the natural sciences. For that matter, education offered by the gymnasia, including the study of classical languages, was meant for all those "who in a sense are beyond nationality, and who shall understand the entire complex of the people's education in its context with other cultures and its dependence on historical antecedents".<sup>7</sup> Included among the indivi-

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<sup>6</sup>Cf. "Votum Schleiermachers zu Sueverns Gesamtinstruktion vom 7. Februar 1813", in Karl Mueller (ed.), Gymnasiale Bildung (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1968), pp. 170-75.

<sup>7</sup>"Votum Schleiermachers", p. 172.



duals who ought to receive this type of education were those who wished to devote themselves to scholarly studies, and additionally those who would occupy decision-making positions in the country, i.e., the upper ranks of the government. In the long run, the extension to other members of the "upper classes of the people" who would eventually represent the people in the various spheres of public interest, was deemed desirable. The high value of the curriculum of the gymnasium was, thus, in those early years seen in transcending ethnocentrism and utilitarianism, but in effect these attitudes were to be transmitted only to those social strata who were supposedly best equipped intellectually, socially, and politically, to benefit from those studies.

Although Schleiermacher insisted elsewhere<sup>8</sup> that the education of the upper strata of society should not be promoted at the expense of the lower ranks of society, one cannot escape the impression that even within secondary education distinctions should be made in the curricula offered that might be labelled as 'high-value' and 'low-value'. 'Low-value' curricula were not only different in nature but, as far as occupational goals are concerned, less ambitious. Their more mundane thrust would suit the needs and the capabilities of the majority of students seeking post-primary education, and the distinction between a curriculum for a select minority on one hand, and another one for the heterogeneous

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<sup>8</sup>K.H. Guenther quotes Schleiermacher as follows: "If both coincide, namely suppression of the lower estate through education, and the wrong, artificial promotion of the upper estate, then we are doomed; only a particularly favourable Providence can, then, prevent complete desintegration or violent reaction". For a full evaluation of Schleiermacher's educational thought in the light of Marxist-Leninist historiography, see Karl-Heinz Guenther et al., Geschichte der Erziehung (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Verlag, 1966), pp. 219-22.





majority on the other hand, must have been conceived of as less prestigious and, therefore, as less valuable in terms of educational status.

As a first, tentative assessment of the post-1815 situation in the Grand Duchy's education system, 'high-value' as opposed to 'low-value' curricula appear to have existed in two different respects: Firstly, academic or classical studies were highly reputable not only because they were regarded to lead to an understanding of the ultimate complexities of life. By introducing the students into the 'inner sphere' of those who know and understand best, these studies normally opened up the avenues to continued upward mobility through university training. Compliance to the existing rules was therefore of greatest importance to the aspiring student, or, as Young argues in this context,

One might speculate that it is not that particular skills and competences are associated with highly-valued occupations because some occupations 'need' recruits with knowledge defined and assessed in this way. Rather it is suggested that any very different cultural choices, or the granting of equal status to sets of cultural choices that reflect variations in terms of the suggested characteristics, would involve a massive redistribution of the labels 'educational' 'success' and 'failure', and thus also a parallel redistribution of rewards in terms of wealth, prestige and power.<sup>9</sup>

More practical studies as they had existed for example at the Lyceum in Warsaw or in the National Schools of the Duchy of Warsaw before 1815 were by implication assessed by educators of the post-1815 period as such a 'different cultural choice' that was refused equal status with the neo-humanistic approach of the Prussian gymnasia. But with the elimination of secondary schools in the Grand Duchy that offered alternatives, the gymnasia were placed in a position where the acceptance of

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<sup>9</sup>Young, "Curricula as Socially Organized Knowledge", p. 38.





the prescribed curricula provided the only chance for academically oriented students, Polish as well as German, to prepare themselves for the university by means of institutionalized education. In other words, success in later life in terms of university-based careers was defined to a great extent by the gymnasia. Seen from this point of view, these schools were given an enormous potential for disseminating German culture, if the respective curricula were planned in the 'proper' way, and from here one may better understand why especially the gymnasia were in the midst of political controversy during the 1815-1850 period: They were the most conspicuous public institutions where indigenous cultural values were defended against 'alien' values, and where the odds were more often than not in favour of the Prussian concept of secondary education.

The second aspect that was operative during the very early years was the high value attached to de-politicized knowledge, i.e., the idealistic, state-boundaries transcending objectives of the neo-humanists were given higher priority than the goals of the national educators, whether Polish or German. And whereas the distinction between 'academic' and 'practical' studies was later on institutionalized, at least Polish national objectives were increasingly eliminated from the schools. They were not only considered to be too narrow in terms of educational philosophy, but they were also deemed politically undesirable in years to come, up to a point where they were judged subversive. In sum, the curricula provided by the gymnasia during the early years appear to reflect the Grand Duchy's social stratification of that time to a great degree: 'High-value' knowledge was provided by the gymnasium as the only repu-



table secondary institution during the period 1815-1830, while the rest of the population, at least in general terms, had to be content with 'low-value' knowledge as provided in primary education.<sup>10</sup> Even when the establishment of 'accepted' secondary schools like the Realschule signalled the emergence of an intermediate social class, was the relegation of a more practical curriculum to this type of school trying to ensure the traditional distinction between high-value and low-value knowledge.

(a) The teaching of history

Socio-political implications of the prescribed curricula will now be examined for the entire 1815-1850 period, and especially the curricular policies and their changing emphases be scrutinized. Here the regulations for history, religious instruction, literature, and languages with their high-level political potential seem to be of greatest importance. The textbooks suggested (or prohibited), as well as the topics recommended for the German essays as part of the Abitur (Abituraufsaetze) deserve some discussion in the context of curricular policies.

The claim of serving a cultural mission for Europe or even mankind has been a recurring feature among modern nation-states, and it is possibly this aspiration that has added energy and support to many a

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<sup>10</sup> Jan Szczepanski, Polish Society (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 13-20, describes the social structure as follows: "Polish society at the beginning of the nineteenth century still had an aristocracy that was looked upon as the leading class, and a numerically large and highly differentiated gentry. The clergy played an enhanced role, inasmuch as the Church had become the only intact national institution . . . . The middle class was insignificant and only later in the nineteenth century, with the industrial 'take-off', did the middle class begin to become a new social force. The peasantry, the most numerous segment of the population, remained . . . an uneducated mass, with no part in political life". (p. 16).



nationalist movement. The endeavour to allow or to induce other national groups or sub-groups to share the 'blessings' of one's own cultural superiority in the widest sense entails the question of the most effective method of transferring the concomitant ideas and institutions. One of the vehicles for the transmission of the 'new' values was institutionalized education, and the subject of history could be used most directly for confronting the young generation with the origin and the manifestations of cultural achievements.

In his study of the spiritual foundations of the teaching of history at German secondary schools during the nineteenth century, E. Weymar distinguishes between (1) the Christian-Germanic mission; (2) the Christian-Romantic mission; and (3) the racially-founded mission,<sup>11</sup> and since the textbooks which he examined as examples for the respective approaches were also introduced in the schools of the Grand Duchy, Weymar's contentions will be dealt with in the further course of the present chapter.

Regulations regarding the writing of textbooks for history were introduced by the Minister von Altenstein as early as October 1819, and the teaching of history was apparently brought in line with the restrictive policies of the Carlsbad Decrees: Contemporary history was to be excluded to the extent that reference to post-1815 events should not establish a "pre-mature incitement" which might, subsequently, result in "immature judgements" on the part of the students.<sup>12</sup> The effects

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<sup>11</sup> Ernst Weymar, Das Selbstverstaendnis der Deutschen (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1961).

<sup>12</sup> Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis der Deutschen, p. 108.





could be felt in the Grand Duchy almost immediately. A brief note to the schools that the new edition of a textbook entitled Deutsche Geschichte no longer contained "offending passages" and could, therefore, be used in schools,<sup>13</sup> was followed in 1823 by a more specific regulations: The third edition of a book called Weltgeschichte in einem gedraengten Auszuge fuer die Jugend und ihre Lehrer (Concise World-History for Students and Teachers) was alleged to contain "a presentation of most recent events which, as far as they deserve to be included in a textbook at all, are dealt with in such an inappropriate and intolerable manner so that its use in schools cannot be permitted". Teachers were instead advised to introduce Marheineke's Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens und Lebens (Textbook of Christian Faith and Life), accompanied by Die historische Uebersicht des brandenburgisch-preussischen Staates unter dem Hause Hohenzollern (Historical Survey of the Brandenburgian-Prussian State under the House of the Hohenzollern), published in 1824.

Even more surprising is the debarment of Kohlrausch's Deutsche Geschichte in its second edition, "since here the elements of later revolutionary activities have been presented as a result and the postulates of the Zeitgeist". Two months later, the teachers were referred to an instruction from the Ministry to avoid carefully the improper use of textbooks in history, such as the one written by Luden.<sup>14</sup> Kohlrausch

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<sup>13</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 8. The note was written in 1820, but unfortunately the author of the textbook is not mentioned. The title Deutsche Geschichte might point at Kohlrausch, but since reference was made to the sixth edition, whereas Kohlrausch's text had its second edition only in 1823 or 1824, there is still room for doubt.

<sup>14</sup> Instruction by the Provincial Education Commission, of August 21, 1824, and of October 2, 1824. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny w Posnania, Sygn. 21. The exclusion of Luden from the list of publishable authors after his involvement at the Wartburg-Festival deserves no further comment in this context.





was, according to Weymar, the major representative of the Christian-Germanic mission among German historians, and his emphasis on the necessary fusion of theological and romanticist ideas as the explanatory model for contemporary historiography was definitely not detrimental to state-interests. His antipathy towards everything French might have been less acceptable during the period of restoration that followed the Vienna Congress, since France had now joined in the damnation of liberal and democratic ideas of the time. As it appears, it was merely the interpretation of some historical events rather than his philosophy of history that led to the indexing of his textbook; a revised edition was obviously readmitted for instructional purposes. In the context of the Grand Duchy's gymnasia it deserves, however, mentioning that the Kohl-rausch-text was not very popular, anyways, and it was not mentioned as being used during the entire period under discussion.

Strict guidelines for teaching history seem to have been non-existent in those years. In Bromberg, for example, history was introduced together with geography in Quinta, and three periods per week were given to the history/geography lessons up to grade one (Prima); Prussian and Brandenburgian history was taught right at the beginning. Conversely, the Marien-Gymnasium offered two periods per week even in Prima, and although the Provincial Education Commission suggested that in bilingual schools history should be taught in German, the Marien-Gymnasium's history teachers were permitted to teach in Polish, and students had to summarize in German.<sup>15</sup> The Provincial Education Commission criticized

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<sup>15</sup> Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission of September 24, 1829. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 12.



as late as 1834 the practice of teaching history without the utilization of printed texts, and students apparently took notes of the teachers' presentation or copied his handwritten texts for memorization from the blackboard. The introduction of textbooks was therefore made mandatory, and the respective staff-members were asked to submit proposals as to which texts they would like to introduce.

The textbook for Polish students was probably the one written by Sawinski and Kotowski, the chronological tables of which had been revised by the history teacher of the Marien-Gymnasium, Stoc. Shortly after this text had been recommended, there followed a cautioning advice from the Provincial Education Commission to assess critically the suitability of history-texts, particularly those for Polish students, "since we can and must not be indifferent as to which textbooks and thereby interpretations we place in the hands of our students".<sup>16</sup> Only two weeks later the aforementioned book was disallowed for instructional purposes, and new suggestions for a replacement were to be made.<sup>17</sup>

Among the textbooks available, the one written by Vogel, Ellendt, and Bredow were favourably commented upon by the Provincial Education Commission. But whereas Weymar criticized Vogel for his idealization of Germanic virtues and their importance for the development of a genuinely German national character, Bredow's books were still rooted in the philosophy of the Enlightenment, and his thrust was on cultural

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<sup>16</sup>Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission, of August 16, 1834. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 17.

<sup>17</sup>Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission, of August 28, 1834. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny w Poznania, Sygn. 17.



achievements, technological change, and discoveries, combined with a nascent feeling of nationality, although softened by a commitment to European traditions and to cosmopolitanism.<sup>18</sup> The Provincial Education Commission's evaluation of Bredow's texts, namely that "they are inexpensive and excel all the other books by the incorporation of the intellectual histories of other peoples"<sup>19</sup> would confirm Weymar's position.

The events of 1830 had repercussions on the teaching of history as well. The apparent lack of precise instructions and guidelines did obviously not imply that 'subversive' texts could be tolerated, even when they were published in Germany. A book written by Eduard Farnow in 1832 and published in Reutlingen, entitled Bilder aus dem polnischen Freiheitskampf aelterer und neuerer Zeit (Illustrations of the Polish Struggle for Freedom in Former and Present Times) was banned from the schools' libraries. As the instruction explained, "higher authorities" objected to certain passages which, despite a dispassionate presentation, might arouse Polish national feelings; furthermore, the disrespectful characterization of the Russian government was not acceptable.<sup>20</sup> Thus, although Farnow's book seems to have displayed the sympathies of many German intellectuals in those years, political considerations excluded the propagation of such feelings in the Grand Duchy's gymnasia.

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<sup>18</sup>Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis, pp. 149 and 84-85.

<sup>19</sup>Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission, of June 22, 1834. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 17.

<sup>20</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of August 30, 1834. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 17.





Other textbooks introduced in the secondary schools of the province were Welter's Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte (Textbook of World-History), used in Bromberg and at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, but also in Ostrowo; Puetz's Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte (Compendium of Geography and History), used at Tremessen and Ostrowo; Wachsmuth's Grundriss der allgemeinen Geschichte der Voelker und Staaten (Compendium of the General History of Peoples and States), used at Tremessen; Beck's Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Geschichte fuer die unteren und mittleren Klassen hoeherer Lehranstalten (Textbook for General History in the Lower and Medium Grades of High-Schools), used in Ostrowo; and Dielitz's Grundriss der Weltgeschichte (Compendium of World-History), used in Krotoschin. Welter, who had been a student of the aforementioned Kohlrausch, strongly emphasized Germany's mission for Europe, and his patriotism became increasingly militant during the second half of the century, particularly with respect to France. Puetz, although like Welter committed to Catholic ideals, was one of the most reputable authors of historical texts, and his deep appreciation of Europe's intellectual heritage softened patriotic overtones. Wachsmuth was of similar scholarly calibre, and Weymar considers him as well as the aforementioned Ellendt, author of the Lehrbuch der Geschichte fuer die oberen Klassen der Gymnasien (Textbook for History in the Upper Grades of the Gymnasium), as representing liberal tendencies. The claim that those tendencies were phased out during the 1830's and 1840's does not actually apply to the Grand Duchy, since Wachsmuth's text was used in 1840, and Ellendt's book was officially recommended in 1834. Beck, who largely continued the tradition established by Kohlrausch in his





insistence on Germany's mission as the curator of European culture, was substantially different from Dielitz whose propagation of religious and political liberties resulted in the translation of his Grundriss into French, Dutch, Swedish, and Russian for those countries' secondary schools.<sup>21</sup> The point is, at least during the 1815-1850 period no uniform or prescribed approach for the teaching of history was discernible, and it was basically left to the discretion of the individual schools and their history-teachers which books were to be used, as long as the texts were acceptable to the Provincial Education Commission.

As mentioned before, the amount of historical instruction differed as well. The Gymnasium of Bromberg offered history from Quinta to Prima, three periods per week, beginning with the history of Brandenburg and Prussia.<sup>22</sup> The course ended with the second half of the eighteenth century, with no reference to the European changes in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. The Marien-Gymnasium introduced history in Quinta with only one period per week, increasing to two in subsequent grades.<sup>23</sup> At Lissa, history began in Quarta with two periods per week, and three periods were offered up to Prima.<sup>24</sup> Only in later years was a first introduction provided in Quinta, and the scope ranged from biblical history to the history of Brandenburg and Prussia.<sup>25</sup> At both

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<sup>21</sup>Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis, p. 159.

<sup>22</sup>Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1821.

<sup>23</sup>Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums, 1837.

<sup>24</sup>Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1834.

<sup>25</sup>Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1841.



the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium of Tremessen history began in Quinta with two to three periods a week, and at Tremessen the history-course ended with the French Revolution.<sup>26</sup> An entirely different distribution prevailed in Ostrowo, where the introduction was given in Quinta with four periods per week, including, however, geography; three periods a week in Tertia and two in Secunda followed.<sup>27</sup> The two Realschulen, finally, differed as well: At Meseritz, history began in Quinta with two periods, and only in Prima was one more added; the course went as far as the events of 1830.<sup>28</sup> Krotoschin offered history in Quarta with one period per week only, and in Secunda and Prima the number was increased to two periods.<sup>29</sup>

The scope of the history-curriculum ranged from biblical history to modern history as the two polar extremes, and apparently more often than not would the course end with the eighteenth century. A few words have, therefore, to be said about the concept of history that can be deduced from the information available. The movement of secularization that had begun under the influence of the Enlightenment and of neo-humanism had been one of the major characteristics of the gymnasium-reforms during the early nineteenth century. As the restorative policies of the post-1815 period were spreading throughout Germany, the inner organization of the gymnasia, i.e., their curricular orienta-

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<sup>26</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1848.

<sup>27</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1846.

<sup>28</sup> Jahresbericht der Realschule zu Meseritz, 1837 and 1847.

<sup>29</sup> Jahresbericht der Realschule zu Krotoschin, 1849. Different figures are given by Leuchtenberg, in that Quarta had one and Tertia to Prima two periods per week.



tion increasingly reflected the resurgence of clerical influences in public life. What in later years was described as the "nuisance of spiritual espionage"<sup>30</sup> can be equated to Young's conception of the curriculum as socially organized knowledge and of social plus political control. Religious overtones in the teaching of history were, as has been mentioned, growing to a point that history was considered by later historians as the 'new ancilla theologiae'.<sup>31</sup> The ministerial instruction of 1819 fits well into this picture: The premature participation of the young in public life was criticized, and, instead, the schools were summoned to develop the students' "inner lives", their ability to search for the life's centre within themselves rather than elsewhere. Schools were ordered to stay out of politics, and the pursuit of studies in religion and science in the widest sense would help the young to find their place in the world.<sup>32</sup> The quotation from Beger's book at the beginning of the present chapter illustrates the point just made.

Some qualifying remarks, however, have to be introduced. Moennich, for instance, criticized in his essay on the teaching of history certain non-historical practices, namely the attempts at over-emphasizing religious, political or philosophical aspects in history. He argued that the most important concern of history in its strict sense was public life, thus making history a science that had its

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<sup>30</sup>This criticism was voiced by O. Jaeger in 1892 at a meeting of the Gymnasialverein in Bonn. Quoted by Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis, p. 103.

<sup>31</sup>Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis, pp. 98-221.

<sup>32</sup>Cabinet-Ordre of January 11, 1819, quoted by Weymar, Selbstverstaendnis, p. 108.



focus on political change. Religious history, for that matter, should not be included in the history-curriculum.<sup>33</sup> Biblical accounts were therefore to be restricted to the elementary level, namely ages six to eight, and here Moennich referred to Kohlrausch as providing an adequate approach as to how biblical material should be included in textbooks. Secondary schools other than the gymnasia, finally, should have less ancient and medieval German history and, instead, provide deeper insights into modern German history and other European cultures.

A similar stance was taken by Hoeting.<sup>34</sup> Although he was fully aware of the effects of the teaching of history on moral and religious values, he wanted to have dogmatic and strictly ethical questions excluded from history-lessons. Their pursuit would better be served by religious instruction. Here, as well, was biblical history considered to be appropriate for the lower grades, and the history of Israel should, apart from its place in religious studies, be exemplified by means of the Scripture. The transition from the Genesis to the oldest tribes and societies of mankind would, then, introduce the student into history in its strict sense. Contrary to Moennich, the author considered the textbooks by Puetz and Welter as most valuable. Also, and here Weymar's contentions can be corroborated, there is a strong emphasis by Hoeting to teach the realization of Divine Providence as the spiritus movens in man's history as the highest level of historical understanding.

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<sup>33</sup>Dr. Moennich, "Ueber den Unterricht in der Geschichte vornehmlich auf Gelehrtenschulen", in Schulprogramm des Koenigl. Karlsgymnasiums zu Heilbronn, 1857, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup>Dr. Hoeting, "Ueber den geschichtlichen Unterricht an Gymnasien", in Jahresbericht ueber das Gymnasium zu Kempen, 1857, p. 2.





Schultz, finally, urged for the total omission of biblical history and the history of the Israelites should be removed even from the curriculum of the lower grades since those accounts could more profitably be included in the curriculum of religious studies.<sup>35</sup>

Although these three examples cannot claim to represent the general view of history teachers in those years, the fact that those essays were distributed throughout the Prussian Monarchy by means of the exchange-programme of the various secondary schools' annual reports, may at least indicate that different views existed in the teaching of history, views that were opposed to considering history as the 'handmaid of religion'. The fact that the three authors mentioned had their essays published in 1857, i.e., after the period with which the present study is concerned, does not invalidate their importance for the problem at hand. First of all, their conception of history as an academic subject must have developed during a number of years, and the publishing-date does not necessarily imply that those views were conceptualized in the 1850's. More importantly, the restoration-period that followed the 1848-revolution was certainly no less concerned with a prominent place of religion in the education-process, as compared to the pre-1848 years. Thus the inherent criticism of the three essays appears to have validity for a larger time-span than just the 1850's.

#### (b) The Teaching of Religion

How, then, did the curriculum for religious instruction affect

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<sup>35</sup>Ferdinand Schultz, "Ueber die Stufenfolge des Geschichts-Unterrichts an den Gymnasien", in 38. Jahresbericht ueber das Koenigl. Gymnasium zu Muenster, 1857, p. 8.



the schools, and, more specifically, to what extent did the teaching of religion in the province's secondary schools attempt to modify student behaviour? At least for the initial years was the influence of the Enlightenment and classical humanism prevalent also with respect to religious instruction. Religion was considered by the authorities to be outside the schools' responsibility, and the spirit of the reforms clearly dictated the rationale for excluding religious instruction: First, the teaching of the beliefs of the various denominations can by definition be no generally valid subject of secondary schools; secondly, it should be irrelevant for the clerical instructors whether their lessons form part of the secondary school's programme or not; third, religious allegiances have no impact on the students' evaluation for the Abitur-exam, nor do they have any importance as far as the students' qualification for higher studies is concerned; and fourth, the time available for school-hours should not be diminished by including a subject the purpose of which could be served perhaps even better if it was taught outside school-hours.<sup>36</sup>

Only a few years later, after von Altenstein had become Minister of Education, a change of official policies became evident. Not only were two periods of religious instruction per week introduced, but the Minister acknowledged that "religion and the vernacular are the most important sanctuaries of a nation, encompassing its entire system of beliefs and salient concepts. A government that recognizes, appre-

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<sup>36</sup> These recommendations were made by the Provincial Education Commission as part of the criticism of the overall programme planned by the Marien-Gymnasium in 1815. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.



ciates, and protects those values can be assured of winning the hearts of its subjects; neglect, indifference, or even the support of actions hostile to religion and language will not only embitter and degrade a nation, but also makes for disloyal and distrustful subjects".<sup>37</sup>

The identification of religion and language as the most important assets of a nation implied for the schools of the Grand Duchy that Polish and Catholic were treated as nearly identical. The official position taken by the Minister probably ensured the dominance of Polish as the language of instruction at the Catholic Marien-Gymnasium during the early years, i.e., until 1825, when a curtailment of Polish was deemed necessary. The Provincial Education Commission followed the new course, although the importance of religion was described in more general terms: it was seen as the "major vehicle for moral education". Instructional methods should reflect the delicacy of the subject.

Religious instruction is more often than not treated by the schools as a matter of the intellect or even of memorization, and it is taught or demonstrated like grammar or philosophy. No service will be done to the soul in this way. The teacher has to speak with seriousness and love from heart to heart, and every lesson should be a period of devotion and elevation of the soul, which, of course, does not exclude talks of the teacher with his students, as long as those conversations are centred around the example of Our Saviour. The teacher of religion should preferrably, like the home-room teacher, approach the students and try to win their absolute trust, but also should he, like every other teacher, keep contact with the parents who have entrusted their childred to his care.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Instruction by the Minister von Altenstein, issued to the Provincial government of the Grand Duchy, of December 23, 1822, quoted by M. Laubert, Die preussische Polenpolitik, p. 63.

<sup>38</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of November 10, 1826. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9a. Since the letter seems to express most distinctively the interpretation of Prussian educational policies, its translation in full is included in Appendix D.



There is some indication that the greater importance given to Protestant religious instruction was a reaction to the rigorous controls exercised by the Catholic clergy over their students. The practice of conducting morning-prayers was also suggested for Protestant students, "just as the Catholic students use to have them",<sup>39</sup> and the occasion of the tri-centennial of the Augsburg-Confession was used for uniting the Protestant students for common prayers. The Royal Decree, furthermore, made it the responsibility of the principals to prevent "possibly arising passionate denunciations of other Christian denominations". The way in which the principal of the Gymnasium of Lissa responded, is quite illuminating: Since almost two thirds of his students were Catholic, and twenty students were of Jewish creed, he cancelled the attendance of his school altogether.<sup>40</sup>

The connection between religious beliefs and political attitudes was apparently clearly realized by the educational authorities. Thus the rights of the Archbishop in matters relating to religious instruction was recognized, but the state authorities insisted on their privilege of prohibiting textbooks or catechisms that might politically be suspect.<sup>41</sup> Apart from books written in Polish, the schools should also introduce a German songbook, Christliche Lieder

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<sup>39</sup>Instruction of June 6, 1825. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9.

<sup>40</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of May 31, 1830, and report from Dr. Stoephasius of July 31, 1830. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 13.

<sup>41</sup>Instruction from the Provincial Education Commission, of June 22, 1830. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 13.





fuer Katholische Gymnasien (Hymns for Catholic High-Schools), published in Hanover.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the clearest indication of the gradually emerging identification of religious and political attitudes is contained in the statement of 1840, namely that many of the students brought to the schools "punishable political and religious convictions" which they had learnt at home and which, due to the "immaturity" of the students, might produce pernicious results. Closer supervision was to be exercised.<sup>43</sup>

It is interesting to note at this point how the relationship between religion and politics was perceived in Prussia proper. In an essay published in 1848,<sup>44</sup> Frederick William IV is portrayed as holding the insignia of the Church with the same right as the scepter of his wordly power, and Prussia is called "the first Protestant state" in Germany, having the obligation of safeguarding the national Protestant Church.<sup>45</sup> In return, religious education would provide the youth with the moral guidelines needed for the stability of the political order, and here the fatherland occupied a 'sacred' position, since it was under God's benevolent protection.

Conversely, the confrontation of the Prussian government with the Catholic Church flared up again and again, and particularly with

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<sup>42</sup>Instruction of July 6, 1839. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 18.

<sup>43</sup>Minutes of the staff-conference of January 25, 1840. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 614.

<sup>44</sup>"Die Verbindung des politischen und religioesen Elementes mit besonderer Ruecksicht auf die Erziehung zum Staatsbuergerthum" in Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift, Erstes Heft, 1848, pp. 230-62.

<sup>45</sup>"Verbindung des politischen und religioesen Elementes", p. 239.



respect to the clergy of the Grand Duchy could the repercussion of the conflicts in Prussia proper be felt most strongly. When, for example, a new pledge of allegiance was demanded of all the state servants, including clergymen who were employed by the state, the Church authorities in 1850 responded by claiming exemption from the restricting consequences which might thereby be imposed on teachers of religion as far as their primary loyalty, i.e. the Church, was concerned. The government, nonetheless, considered those presentations as irrelevant and took an absolutely legalistic position by insisting on the full implementation of the existing laws and instructions. Violations would be prosecuted regardless of the Church's submission.<sup>46</sup> This controversy not only rekindled the fierce opposition of the Polish clergy, after a truce had been established by Frederick William IV in 1840;<sup>47</sup> it also marked the beginning of a period of cooperation between the Prussian Central Party, representing predominantly Catholic values, and the Polish fraction within the Prussian Diet.

The curricular policies for religious instruction appear to justify the following conclusions: Firstly, the subject was re-introduced to counteract the rationalistic impact of the Enlightenment and

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<sup>46</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1850.

<sup>47</sup> Tensions had arisen as early as 1815 when the Prussian government began to close the monasteries and confiscated their property; under the government of Flottwell, the German language was made compulsory for conducting Church business (with Polish translations only). Finally, Archbishop von Dunin was imprisoned because of his refusal to grant the blessing of the Church for marriages between Catholic and Protestant spouses. For further reference, see: Klaus-Helmut Rehfeld, Die preussische Verwaltung des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg (1848-1871) (Cologne: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), pp. 147-51.



of neo-humanism, thereby strengthening moral education. Secondly, religious instruction was expected to exercise a unifying influence on the students, particularly among Protestants, and by controlling the teachers as civil servants, this control would have its effects on the students as well. Thirdly, those policies had detrimental consequences with respect to the Catholic clergy, since the strength and the power of the Catholic Church had apparently been underestimated. Forceful attempts during the Flottwell administration to make the clergy comply only stiffened their resistance; the support given to the Catholic gymnasia and to the Marcinkowski Association testifies to the political function of the Church as the only competent national institution during the period under discussion.

#### (c) The Teaching of Literature

The impact of literature on the young minds was more specific as compared to religion as a pervading element of public education in those years. The focus on classical studies, particularly on Greek and Roman authors, was part and parcel of a humanistic education that was supposed to offer an alternative system of values to those propagated by the Church, or, for that matter, to the rationalizing thought of the philosophers of the Enlightenment. German literature, apart from the idealization of mainly Greek culture, increasingly formed part of the literary education. One of the earliest pronouncements on the worth of including German literature in the schools' programmes, and here especially with regard to the promotion of the feeling of national identity, was possibly the essay "Welche Eigenschaften muss eine Literatur haben, um wahrhaft national zu sein, und ist dies die Deutsche?" (Which



characteristics are required of a literature to call it truly national, and does the German literature have them?). The author was the teacher of the Gymnasium of Lissa (and the later member of the Provincial Education Commission) Dr. Duetschke.<sup>48</sup>

The essay was obviously written as an academic treatise for publication in the annual report of the school which, then, was exchanged with the reports of some 120 other gymnasia of the Monarchy. For this reason no reference was probably made to the specific situation in the Grand Duchy, and only by inference can its significance for the present discussion be established. Next to 'common language' and to 'originality', it is the literature's foundation in the 'essence' of a given people or, in other words, the reflection of the national character, that determines a national literature. What appears to be of significance for the present discussion is the description of the German national character as Duetschke saw it, because one can well assume he would pursue the same approach in his lessons. For his arguments he referred to Wachler's lectures on national literature and stated,

'The unchangeable of Germanness has its basis in deliberate circumspection and persistent loyalty, in emotional depth and the childlike need for faith. Its manifestation is the high value of domestic life and attachment to one's family-traditions, and for living with close friends; but also compliance with convincing advice, despite adherence to indispensable and dear traditions, readiness to acknowledge the merits of others; and thankful acceptance of foreign influences which can even result in the deliberate pursuit of them, need to be mentioned. Further features are strength and determination, if the German nationality is unjustly attacked, or forceful

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<sup>48</sup> Duetschke, "Welche Eigenschaften muss eine Literatur besitzen, um wahrhaft national zu sein, und ist dies die Deutsche?", in Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1828.





suppression is feared.' And when he (i.e. Wachler) then adds, 'we are united through ethical principles that are characteristic of our people: German loyalty, piety, thoroughness, respect for the common good and for justice may equally apply to language and the arts, and to life', I would like to add: Love of freedom . . . .<sup>49</sup>

This idealization of the German national character which, as an aside, led him to the conclusion that there was a German literature, despite the violent criticism of F. Schlegel, must have had an adverse effect on both Polish teachers of literature and on students alike, especially since their literature was viewed less euphemistically as will be discussed later.

The inclusion of German literature in the curriculum was obviously started as early as 1815 when Kaulfuss suggested that at least from Tertia on "students should be made aware of the necessity to study German literature, and to develop a liking for it, by means of a lively presentation and correct and distinct pronunciation".<sup>50</sup> Similarly, "acquaintance with the major epochs of the history of the fatherland's language and literature, and the most prominent authors of the nation, has to be required" was the official instruction issued by the District of Bromberg's administration in 1816.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Duetschke, "Welche Eigenschaften muss eine Literatur besitzen", p. 6. Similar bias was expressed in an essay by Albert Schott, "Nationalitaet und Sprache" in Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift, Zweites Heft, 1842, pp. 1-78. The Germanic peoples, as compared to the Slavs, are described as inferior in talents, but superior in will-power, intellectual independence, and circumspection in the use of their powers (p. 33). The former therefore have become the educators of the latter. The essay is further remarkable in that Prussia's attempts at germanizing her one-and-a-half million Polish subjects is being condemned as provoking adverse effects; the use of the Polish language should therefore not be restricted (p. 40).

<sup>50</sup> Memorandum from Kaulfuss, of April 1816. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Amtsblatt fuer den Regierungsbezirk Bromberg, 1816. Akten des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, Sygn. II/852.



Those demands were certainly in accordance with the curricula in Prussia proper, but the fact that literary education through German literature was pursued at the expense of Polish literature points at attempted germanization. There is, however, no indication that Polish literature was entirely substituted by German materials. In 1828, for instance, two books written by teachers of the Grand Duchy's gymnasia were introduced, namely Mueller's Theory of Literature and Poplinski's An Anthology of German Prose-Writers and Poets<sup>52</sup>, but already one year later was Poplinski's Grammar of the Polish Language and his Selection of Polish Fables approved by the provincial authorities. And yet, the writing of Polish textbooks was not without problems, as even Stoephasius criticized the various official regulations and guidelines that restricted respective endeavours. His assessment of Poplinski's textbook indicates the kind of hindrances he was complaining about:

The book's historical part is not concentrated on Poland, as may appear at first glance, and there are no appeals for love of the country, so that the book can without hesitation be offered to students of Polish origin. Only once a brother reprimands his sister for not understanding her Polish mother-tongue; elsewhere, it is mentioned that language preserves nationality. Otherwise, any suggestiveness is avoided, and there are no malicious remarks; offensive or ambiguous passages do not exist at all.<sup>53</sup>

Another book by Poplinski had to be evaluated in 1833, and the author himself explained that he had experienced some difficulties in "avoiding everything concerning our State that does not strike our youth as being

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<sup>52</sup> Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1828.

<sup>53</sup> Report from the principal of the Gymnasium of Lissa, von Stoephasius, to the Provincial Education Commission, 1830. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 14.



alien or even offensive". One of these instances was cautiously criticized by one of his colleagues, Cwalina, in his letter to the Provincial Education Commission. Referring to the drama Barbara Radziwillowna by Felinski, which formed part of Poplinski's book, he argued,

Exciting as this drama's language may be, I nonetheless feel that it is unsuited for our students, particularly in view of our present delicate times, since the drama portrays under the disguise of patriotism the republicans or rather the Polish nobility successfully fighting against the monarchy, robbing the king of his power and faith. If I were a censor, I would refuse permission to have this drama published.<sup>54</sup>

The situation here described was in clear contrast to the then prevalent high esteem for Polish literature among the German educated public. Adam Mickiewicz, for example, was celebrated as the 'poet of freedom', and his Books on the Polish People and on the Polish Pilgrimage was translated into German in 1833. German poets, like Willibald Alexis, Friedrich Bodenstedt, Peter Cornelius, Georg Herweg, Justinian Kerner, Gustav Schwab and Ludwig Uhland promoted the Polish cause, and Mickiewicz met Goethe at Weimar in 1829.<sup>55</sup> In all fairness, however, it deserves mentioning that Polish history of literature (and probably Polish literature as such) never disappeared from the curricula, at least of the Polish/Catholic gymnasia. The 1850-annual report of the Gymnasium of Ostrowo mentioned this subject among those that were offered in the Polish language.

Closely related to literary education was a phenomenon that

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<sup>54</sup>Evaluation of April 20, 1833 for the Provincial Education Commission. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 14.

<sup>55</sup>Hildegard Schroeder, "Mickiewicz in Germany", in Wacław Lednicki (ed.), Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), p. 171.





reoccurred in Posen for some years, most markedly between 1824 and 1832, namely the wilful disturbance of theatrical performances. The first such incidence happened in 1824 when police was called to investigate the motives for the students' actions. Since no charges could be laid, the students were only punished for "inappropriate behaviour".<sup>56</sup> A similar disruption in 1826 aroused considerable public attention: Three students had, contrary to most recent instructions not to attend theatrical performances without permission by their guardians or their teachers, visited the theatre and expressed their opposition to the play and/or the German ensemble of actors by shouting and whistling. The students were identified by the police, and while a few teachers voted for minor punishment, like a 24-hour detention, the majority demanded the removal of the students from the school. Eventually, one of them had to be relegated, the other two were more or less pardoned. More interesting is the subsequent admonition by the Provincial Education Commission that teachers should, again, urge their students that "any reference to national diversity could not be tolerated and, instead, convivial and dispassionate instruction should assist students in becoming scientifically educated, morally sound, and religious citizens of the state". The teachers would, moreover, be held responsible if they continued violating their duty of supervision and of imposing discipline.<sup>57</sup> A report of the police-commissioner in 1832 referred to

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<sup>56</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 613.

<sup>57</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9a.





another such incidence in Posen "where many students attended the theatre and shouted and applauded whenever reference was made in the play to freedom and to political change". This time, no major investigation was initiated, and the principal was instructed to make the students once more aware of the existing regulations.<sup>58</sup>

What seems to be of importance is the overt refusal of some students to comply with existing regulations, and to state publicly their political opposition. On the other hand, since no similar reports were mentioned after 1832, there is reason to believe that those demonstrations became less frequent or were directed into different channels.

Another field related to literature is the use of the schools' and public libraries by students, which at times became a pedagogical problem. A number of regulations and instructions could be found which ordered the schools at least during the early 1820's to remove from the schools all the literature that might impede the students' moral, religious, and political education. Public libraries were to be supervised more closely in their services to students, until in 1825 students were no longer allowed to make use of those facilities at all.

Their private readings were to be provided by the schools' libraries.<sup>59</sup> As the titles of the books at Lissa and Tremessen suggest, only 154 Polish books were in the library at Lissa, as compared to 542 German texts; conversely, the acquisitions at Tremessen in 1840 were

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<sup>58</sup> Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Letter from the Ministry of the Interior and the Police, of August 9, 1824 and of May 16, 1825. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 3.



almost exclusively in Polish.<sup>60</sup>

A last point to be discussed in the context of literary education is the kind of topics suggested and accepted for the essays in German (Abituraufsätze) which have traditionally formed a most important part of the 'examination of maturity' (Reifeprüfung) not only in Prussian, but generally in German secondary education. There was apparently a great degree of discretion left to the teachers in formulating topics to be discussed, and those topics, together with all the other areas to be examined, were to be submitted to the Provincial Education Commission for their approval. In most cases three topics had to be suggested, and the Commissioners selected the one they thought was best suited for the exam. A respective list is provided in Appendix C, but it is by no means complete in that it presents possibly about twenty per cent only of all the topics submitted during the period 1815-1850. Especially the existing gaps of information for the years 1815-1824, 1832-1839, and 1840-1845 prevent the sample from being representative. In its randomness, however, it may at least indicate trends and subject-areas that re-appeared during those years.

The topics can conveniently be grouped into four areas, namely (1) ethical/philosophical problems; (2) historical problems; (3) literary problems; and (4) social/political problems. Almost surprisingly, there is a strong emphasis on category (1), i.e., on ethical or philosophical questions, like "On Altruism", or "The Development of

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<sup>60</sup>The books donated from the various government agencies were, as far as they were mentioned in the school-records, all written in German, with a strong Prusso-German emphasis.



the Dangerous Consequences of Good Fortune" throughout the years, with no or only little changes during the periods 1815-30, 1831-40, and 1841-50. Historical topics seem to have lost in popularity during the years, whereas literary problems were more strongly favoured after 1830. Most important, however, is the gradual increase in social and political topics especially after 1840, and here the Gymnasium of Bromberg is most strongly represented. But again, these trends can only be assumed, and further detailed research would be required.

#### (d) The Teaching of German and Polish

The discussion of language policies will conclude the chapter on curricula, and in a sense the various approaches chosen during the years adequately reflect the changing emphases in educational measures taken for the inculcation of a Prussian spirit and of German culture among teachers and students. Some overlap with arguments discussed before is inevitable since the language issue had far-reaching implications beyond strictly curricular ones.

One of the earliest statements on the use of languages in schools was the letter by the Minister of the Interior, von Schuckmann, to the President-in-Chief di Sposetti, of December 1815, in which an equal weight of Polish and German was suggested in order not to destroy the faith of the people in the sincerity of the Prussian administration. Modifications in later years were, however, not precluded. A similar stance was taken by the Gymnasium of Bromberg, where Polish was designated as "a major concern of the gymnasium". But due to the predominantly German population here, Polish was taught as a subject only, and for Polish nationals (National-Polen) their language was taught in



special classes on an advanced level.<sup>61</sup> The annual report of 1821, for example, mentioned four to five periods of 'German' per week as compared to three periods of 'Polish' for the three lower grades (Sexta to Quarta), and three periods per week for each of the two languages from Tertia on.

The attempt by the principal of the Gymnasium of Lissa, Cassius, to allot more periods to the "language of the country", namely Polish, was curbed by the Provincial Education Commission with the cautioning reply that a respective decision would have to depend on the number of Polish and German students; but Polish should at least be used alongside with German, and in the two upper grades German might be used as the language of instruction, except for teaching Polish literature.<sup>62</sup>

The year 1824 seems to have been a first watershed in the language-issue. Schweminski even speaks of a conflict that induced significant changes: The strong increase of German students over the last ten years had prompted demands for offering instruction in their mother-tongue.<sup>63</sup> It is at this point that the previously discussed confrontation between the principal of the Marien-Gymnasium, Kaulfuss, and his teachers, e.g. Schottky, was unduly politicized, and there is room for suspecting that under the pretext of having to save German students from becoming 'polonized', the highest authorities introduced

<sup>61</sup>Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1818, p. 19.

<sup>62</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of April 28, 1821. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 1.

<sup>63</sup>Schweminski, "Zur Geschichte des Gymnasiums", supplement to the Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1848.





'harsher' measures, i.e., extended the use of German at the Marien-Gymnasium. Accordingly, the instruction of April 14, 1825 decreed the establishment of Polish and German streams at the school for the first three years, with due consideration to be given to the 'other' language. The three upper grades were to be taught in German, and only Polish, French, and Catholic religion were allowed to be taught in the respective languages.<sup>64</sup> As Schweminski further argued, this regulation was considered totally unjustified by the Polish population, and a petition to the Provincial Legislative Assembly (Provinzialstaende) asked for the abolition of the new instruction or at least for major modifications. The King's decision was to adhere to the existing policies, but German was to be used as the language of instruction for the last two grades only.

Difficulties not only arose with regard to German students who simply tried to avoid their Polish-lessons or, at least, showed little enthusiasm for them.<sup>65</sup> After the two streams were combined in Tertia (before the 1828/29 modifications), major differences among the students in mastering the Polish language became visible, and some of the German students even claimed that they did not understand Polish at all.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Instruction by the Provincial Education Commission, of April 14, 1825. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 9.

<sup>65</sup>Report from the Provincial Education Commission, of November 11, 1827. Acta Gimnazjum w Lesznie, Sygn. 2.

<sup>66</sup>This complaint was brought forth by the teacher of Polish, von Krolikowski, in a letter dated December 26, 1827. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 10. The 'German' stream had five periods of Polish per week, and the 'Polish' stream the same number in German.



In order to remedy the situation, the 1828/29-decree was intensified by the instruction that students from the Grand Duchy who intended to enter the civil service or wanted to study theology had to demonstrate "a complete knowledge of the Polish language" for being admitted to university. Also, scholarships were to be granted to students who wished to become teachers in the province's secondary schools only if they showed proficiency in both languages.<sup>67</sup> Practising teachers were encouraged to become fully bilingual. A further concession was the decree to use both languages alternatively, e.g. to teach history in German, and mathematics and physics in Polish; Latin and Greek authors could be discussed in both German and Polish, according to the abilities of the students. But here, as well, complete bilinguality was to be the final objective.<sup>68</sup> As mentioned before, German as the sole language of instruction was now limited to Secunda and Prima since many Polish students in Tertia felt they could not follow instruction in German; in the latter grade, the presentations should be supplemented by having the students summarize in German, and this procedure practically applied to all the subjects taught at school.

The year 1834 brought a revision of the existing regulations: Polish as the language of instruction was from now on restricted to the two lowest grades (Sexta and Quinta), and the new schools to be established during the next few years, namely the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium

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<sup>67</sup> Instruction by the Provincial Education Commission, of April 20, 1829. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 12.

<sup>68</sup> Instruction by the Provincial Education Commission, of May 6, 1829. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 12.



and the Realschule Meseritz had, like Bromberg, German as the sole language of instruction. Thus, a dramatic change had taken place if one compares the 1834-situation with the one of 1815: Whereas Polish was dominant at the only school existing in 1815, and German was used only at Bromberg after 1817, now three schools existed that used German as the language of instruction, and only two schools, the Marien-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium of Lissa, used Polish, but only for the first two years.

The political changes affected by the accession to the throne of Frederick William IV and by the removal of Flottwell were also reflected in the language-regulations. On May 24, 1842 a modified return to the pre-1834 situation was introduced. The two 'Polish' gymnasia in Posen and Tremessen had Polish as the language of instruction for the first four grades (Sexta to Tertia), and the teachers were urged to write textbooks in Polish to meet the increased needs; German streams were discontinued in these two schools. The three 'German' schools in Bromberg, Posen, and Meseritz retained German as the language of instruction; at least at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium was permission granted to implement special classes for Polish and German students who could follow instruction given in Polish, although it seems that these classes were only meant for the subject 'Polish'.<sup>69</sup> The schools in Lissa and Krotoschin were exempted from any changes until the planned or anticipated establishment of the Gymnasium of Ostrowo with its expected strongly Polish orientation would provide further information on the directions that the two schools should follow. Moreover, all

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<sup>69</sup>Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur, Die preussischen Gymnasien und hoeheren Buergerschulen (Berlin: Verlag von Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1835), pp. 145-49.



those schools which had a mixed enrollment of Polish and German students were once more strongly advised to hire bilingual teachers.

After only four years new restrictions were imposed with regard to the use of Polish, obviously as a political response to the abortive uprising of 1846. As in 1834, Polish was to be restricted in Posen and Tremessen to the first two grades,<sup>70</sup> and this time German textbooks had to be recommended for being used in Quarta and Tertia for the Polish students who had used Polish texts in those grades for the last four years.

The policy of making language-regulations dependent on political exigencies was once more exemplified by the events following the revolutionary upheavals in Prussia proper. The undecided political status of the Grand Duchy, but also the wavering reaction of the Royal Government with respect to the demands for liberal reforms, did not fail to have their effects on the languages used in the schools of the province. In Bromberg, for example, the official reaction to the manifestations of Polish 'ingratitude' was most pronounced, as the following quotation indicates:

The hitherto favoured position of the Polish language was abruptly terminated with the uprising of the Poles. Following the riots, and triggered by the submissions of many German citizens . . . the Provincial Education Commission decided on April 25, 1848 that Polish was no longer a compulsory subject, but an elective only. The students, however, had to apply in writing to the director to be exempted from Polish lessons.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of September 11, 1846, referring to the ministerial instruction of September 1, 1846. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 628.

<sup>71</sup>W. Brunck and H. Sudheimer, Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817-1827. (Berlin: Gebrueder Hoffmann, o.J.), p. 18.





Later in the year, a return to the 1842-regulations was deemed necessary, and the 1850-annual report of the Gymnasium of Ostrowo, for instance, mentions the re-introduction of German and Polish streams for the first two years, with the anticipation of an extension to the first four years in the near future. The provision that Polish might be used in the upper grades was made contingent not on the ability of the respective teacher of mathematics, physics, or French to use the Polish language, but on the decision of the Provincial Education Commission, following its assessment of the specific situation at the three gymnasia concerned. For the Marien-Gymnasiums, for instance, the use of Polish in the upper grades was restricted to religion, to one Greek or Latin author, to Polish and to Hebrew, i.e., to a maximum of about twelve periods per week.<sup>72</sup>

#### (e) Assessment of curricular policies

At the beginning of the present chapter the question had been asked (1) whether or not there was a distinction between knowledge that was considered to be of a higher, i.e., more desirable order, and 'low-value' knowledge; furthermore, (2) if, given such a condition, those two levels were also politically relevant. After the discussion of the various curricular policies, some answers can now be provided.

Historical knowledge gradually emerged as a significant vehicle for political socialization, and at least to some degree did the fusion of historical and religious interpretations of reality reinforce the moralizing potential of the history lessons. Although the integration

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<sup>72</sup>Instruction by the Provincial Education Commission, of June 26, 1850. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 628.



of the two subjects could have helped the students in obtaining a broader concept of history (and of religion, for that matter), it was the strong regimentation of what counted as historical knowledge, or, in other words, the pre-determined nature of the students' concept of history that prevented a truly integrative process. The educational authorities thus determined 'high-value' knowledge by means of approving or disapproving textbooks or other reading materials, and this procedure became politically relevant by largely excluding Polish national history and by the deliberate omission of texts that interpreted revolutionary forces as progressive factors in modern history. At the same time, Polish history was restricted to presentations that did apparently not lend themselves to nationalistic interpretations and, more importantly, did not threaten the existing political order. Conversely, by introducing German textbooks to a great extent and at the same time restricting the variety of Polish texts, those civic virtues as espoused by German authors were given high priority. This notwithstanding, there is some indication that a limited freedom of choice, restricted as it was, was fully taken advantage of by some history-teachers, and 'liberal' texts, such as the ones written by Wachsmuth and Ellendt, were used in the schools.

Religious knowledge as it was transmitted by the schools served a slightly different function. With respect to the cognitive dimension, their efforts could at best match the work done by the Churches. More important was the contribution that religious instruction was expected to make to moral (and political) education. As the various pronouncements by the educational authorities indicate, the control over



religious views was closely related to control of political views, and it was the good rapport of the teachers with the students and their parents, rather than the curricular contents that had to be given greater attention. No problems were apparently encountered with regard to the Protestant Churches. Conversely, the difficulties or even the open confrontations that the government had with the Catholic Church seems to indicate that the Catholic clergy was fully aware of the political ramifications of cooperating with the state's authorities, and it was the failure to secure this cooperation that can be considered one of the prime causes for the relative inefficacy of the schools' function for political socialization.

More successful was the utilization of language, including literature, for spreading German cultural influences. There were basically two major reasons which practically forced the students to comply: First, German was the language of instruction at all the universities that were available to the students of the Grand Duchy, and the gymnasia were increasingly developing as the only route towards academic studies. Compliance to the curricular requirements set by the gymnasia was therefore mandatory if a student (and his parents) aspired to success in life through education. Second, with German becoming the dominant language in public affairs, employment opportunities in the province and in Prussia proper, even on the sub-academic level, required the mastering of the German language. The curricula pertaining to language have therefore to be considered of highest strategical importance for educational policies, a fact that was duly recognized both by the Prussian government and by the Polish national movements. Hence the frequent modifications of the respective regulations which adjusted the curricular



requirements to the changing political realities, rather than to pedagogical deliberations, and hence the passionate attempts by the Poles to retain as much Polish in the schools as possible. In sum, 'proper' historical knowledge, deep and trustful piety and non-politicized religiosity, and the mastering of the German language constituted 'high-value' knowledge, and this is what the secondary schools had to strive for.





## CHAPTER EIGHT

### The Schools and the Administrative System

Repeated reference has been made in previous chapters to the interrelatedness of education as a state-controlled public affair, and the governmental apparatus of administration. In order to comprehend fully the widespread resistance among the Polish population (and some sections of the Germans living in the Grand Duchy) against Prussian rule, more will have to be said about the influence of administrative measures on secondary education in the province.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the eighteenth century, Prussian bureaucracy had almost become proverbial, being regarded as a unique example of state bureaucracy.<sup>2</sup> More explicitly has this claim been supported by Rosenberg, when he contrasted Prussia with other European countries:

In practicing the vices of self-glorification and group arrogance, the Prussian bureaucracy was not unique in the nineteenth century. To be sure, its pretensions and its extravagant hierarchism were often harmless and simply amusing. But in posing as the practical incarnation of the social and political teachings of German Idealism; in operating behind a metaphysical smoke-screen; in persuading many that public administration was the government, bureaucracy the State,

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<sup>1</sup> John R. Gillis, The Prussian Bureaucracy in Crisis, 1840-1860 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), p. vi even claims that "the importance of the study of the bureaucracy has always been apparent to those who have attempted to understand Prussian historical developments".

<sup>2</sup> Henry Jacoby, The Bureaucratization of the World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 28.



authority liberty, and privilege equality of opportunity, the Prusso-German bureaucracy made indeed a special place for itself among the governmental services of the European world.<sup>3</sup>

Bureaucracy is here obviously not used in its derogatory sense, but as the rational-legal type of organization as M. Weber referred to it in contra-distinction to 'charismatic' and 'traditional' authority structures. Seen from this point of view, it was part and parcel of the modernization process which replaced the patrimonial and feudal forms of domination by reliance on clearly defined rules concerning the levels of rights and duties of every position within the hierarchy, the methods of recruitment and promotions, based on a legal order.<sup>4</sup>

Two aspects are of immediate consequence for the present discussion: First, administrators were seeing themselves as servants of the state rather than the monarch, thereby establishing a degree of independence and self-esteem that placed them on the same level as the previously dominant state servants of noble birth. Second, in pursuing the ideals of impartiality, expert knowledge, and obedience to superiors, the officials had the duty of complying with the rules and with the orders coming from above, and in cases where their personal opinions differed from those of their superiors, they had to put them aside and do their utmost for the faithful execution of the orders received.<sup>5</sup> As a result, an immense amount of power and political influence was concentrated at the top of the hierarchy, with little if any checks from 'below'.

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<sup>3</sup>Hans Rosenberg, Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy. The Prussian Experience 1660-1815 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1958, pp. 23-24.

<sup>4</sup>Nicos P. Mouzelis, Organisation and Bureaucracy (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 17.

<sup>5</sup>Mouzelis, Organisation and Bureaucracy, p. 21.



These principles applied more or less to all the social institutions, including the schools, and to all parts of the country, including the Grand Duchy. Thus, the 'disarray' that had characterized much of Poland's political history prior to the Partitions was literally over night replaced by Prussian administrative principles in 1815. In order to secure the full compliance of those new state servants who, in accordance with vom Stein's proposals, were placed in positions of authority, they were required to solemnly confirm their willingness to abide by the principles outlined above; in view of the fact that Polish officials had from one day to another become Prussian subjects, the text prescribed for the oath of office was far-reaching, indeed:

I recognize His Majesty, the King of Prussia, as the only legitimate sovereign of this country, and that part of Poland that has been allotted by the Vienna Congress to the Royal House of Prussia as my fatherland. I have the duty and I am prepared to defend it with my life against any power or individual, whoever it may be, and whatever circumstances and conditions may exist.<sup>6</sup>

At least in legal terms was every state servant of Polish origin thereby relinquishing his nationality to a great extent in that manifestations of political independence were incompatible with his new office. And since teachers were state servants as well, they had lost their right of acting independently from the instructions that were to be handed down to the schools.

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<sup>6</sup>Quoted by Irene Berger, Die preussische Verwaltung des Regierungsbezirks Bromberg (1815-1847) (Cologne: Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), p. 21. For a detailed account of the emergence and the structural principles not only of the administration of the District of Bromberg, but also of the Province of Posen as such, the study provides a wealth of information, although the section on education is kept on a rather general level.





(a) The Administrative Structure of the Grand Duchy and the Secondary Schools

Two administrative units, namely the Districts of Posen and of Bromberg, formed the component parts of the province, and the governmental representative, the President-in-Chief (Oberpraesident) with residence in the city of Posen, had three distinctive functions vis-a-vis the District-Presidents (Regierungspraesidenten): First, to issue administrative guidelines; second, to exercise control over the government of the Districts; and third, to represent the higher state-authorities. Part of his duties were the supervision of cultural, educational, and medical affairs, leading to the establishment of Consistories for Spiritual and Advanced Education Matters (Konsistorien fuer die geistlichen und hoeheren Schulsachen), previously referred to in this study as the Provincial Education Commission. Whereas the elementary schools were basically the responsibility of the municipalities, with a governmental supervisor (Schulrat) as the intermediate agency between the former and the government, the secondary schools were directly under the authority of the Provincial Education Commission, especially after 1826 when, following the establishment of the Provinzial-Schul-Kollegium, a clear-cut separation of the administration of elementary and secondary education was effected.

The overall exceptional status of the Grand Duchy as compared to the old provinces was not only evidenced by the King's acceptance of the title 'Grand Duke of Posen', but also by the appointment of an official representative of the Crown, the General Govenor (Statthalter) Prince Radziwill. His function was, however, limited in that he was entitled to be informed about the administrative policies; he could,





furthermore, pass on requests and complaints from the citizens and convey to them the intentions of the King. The Prince resigned from his position after the 1830-uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, and since no successor was appointed, the privileged position of the Grand Duchy was de facto abolished. Nonetheless, some influence on educational policies could be exercised, during his term of office, particularly since the gymnasia were at that time attended primarily by the sons of the upper nobility of whom Prince Radziwill was a leading spokesman.

Another infringement of the initially granted exceptional status was the termination of the Woyts in 1833 and 1836 respectively. These offices went back as far as 1809, when the election of public representatives who executed communal policies and even had some judicial powers, resulted in a mixture of patrimonial and authoritarian self-government on the local level. The patrimonial nature was even strengthened by the Cabinet Ordre of 1823 when the regional landlords were vested with the office of the Woyt. But here, again, the events of 1830 at first divested them of their police-functions (in 1833), and in 1836 the Woyts were abolished altogether and replaced by district-commissioners who, as appointed officials, acted on behalf of the County-Councillor (Landrat). And although the position of the latter had almost exclusively been preempted by members of the Polish landed aristocracy during the early years, their influence decreased gradually, and they were eventually replaced by German landowners or officials.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Berger, *Die preussische Verwaltung*, pp. 330-34, lists six Landraete for 1818, all of whom have 'Polish' names, e.g., von Grabowski, von Zawadski, von Lekszycki, von Laski, von Bukowiecki and von Neizychowski. By 1843, the list contains only 'German' names, e.g., Riedel, von Hoheneck, von Grevenitz, Weiss, Fernow, von Kuhlemann, Wernich, and von der Recke. Cf. also Georg Baron Manteuffel-Szoegé, Geschichte des polnischen Volkes waehrend seiner Unfreiheit, 1772-1914 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblodt, 1950), p. 87.



The importance of this development was certainly greatest with respect to local elementary schools, but through the impact that this measure might have had on the support of the activities of the later Marcinkowski Association, an indirect effect can be assumed on secondary education as well.

Most direct changes had been effected by the stipulation of the General Civil Code (Allgemeines Landrecht) that placed all educational institutions, from elementary school up to universities, under the jurisdiction of the state. The secondary schools existing in 1815 had so far been governed according to the foundational statutes which, from now on, were valid only with regard to financial transactions, such as the use of donations, granting of scholarships, and the like.<sup>8</sup> Educational administration as such for instance concerning curricular contents, examinations, admission of students, appointment and dismissal of teachers, etc. became the prerogative of the central Ministry of Education and its provincial representatives. And while the hiring of teachers was initially restricted to those institutions and positions that were maintained by the state, excluding for example all those positions that were to be filled by appointees from the various Churches, these exceptions were abolished in 1845. But disciplinary powers had been exercised over all the teachers since 1817, and by means of admonitions, reprimands, but also praise and promotions, attempts had been made to secure the compliance and cooperation of the teaching force.

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<sup>8</sup> Although the curators of the schools at Lissa and Posen for instance retained a certain amount of control over these matters, it was the government's responsibility and prerogative to supervise the use of the schools' endowments.



(b) The Influence of Leading Administrators

Before now specific administrative measures impinging on the secondary schools of the Grand Duchy will be discussed, a brief characterization of the various presidents-in-chief's possible effects on the schools will be provided, since it was their assessment of certain problems existing in the province that was at least partly determining ministerial and royal decisions and decrees regulating the Grand Duchy's affairs; Flottwell, for example, even had direct access to the King in matters related to the government of the province. Since the discussion of lower-level officials, such as the Provincial Commissioners for Education (Regierungs-und Schulraete) and the principals has been presented before, only the higher-level officials will now be considered.<sup>9</sup>

Zerboni di Sposetti was the first senior official from 1815 to 1824. He was of Italian origin and had been living in Breslau before he began to serve the Prussian government in its eastern provinces even before 1815. As a friend of Hardenberg, he apparently sought to "rectify by means of a permissive approach the Polish Partitions that had been condemned by liberals throughout the world".<sup>10</sup> His liberalism, combined with a fierce temperament and stubbornness, soon led to controversies with his superiors in Berlin and, finally, to his resignation in 1824. His last public statement may adequately summarize the way in which he saw his responsibilities:

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<sup>9</sup>The discussion largely follows the characterization given by Berger and by Rehfeld, Die preussische Verwaltung, pp. 69-73 and pp. 33-36 respectively.

<sup>10</sup>Berger, Die preussische Verwaltung, p. 69.



At the point of retiring into private life, I am convinced to have served the interests of the Province not without success. Unfortunately, this conviction has to be qualified in that, due to prevailing conditions, much of what I wished to accomplish for my fellow-citizens still needs to be done.<sup>11</sup>

His successor, von Baumann, seems to have been of almost opposite nature. He had formerly been the leading administrator in Koenigsberg, and his attitude towards the governmental authorities in Berlin was servile rather than self-conscious and determined. The Polish population saw in him an enemy rather than a friend, and he actually showed little concern for the industrial and economic development of the province, e.g. with respect to the textile industry. His death in 1830 made a wise choice of his successor mandatory, especially since the unrest among the Polish population had meanwhile assumed crisis proportions.

The King's decision was to appoint Flottwell, previously the president of the District of Marienwerder, just north of the Grand Duchy. He was certainly the most controversial President-in-Chief, since his energy, combined with intelligence and thorough knowledge of administration, enabled him to exercise firm leadership. On the other hand, his declared policy of assimilation through extending German material and intellectual influences and thereby planting the seeds of German culture into the hearts and minds of the Polish population, made him the first outspoken representative of a germanization policy. His simple but effective plan was to break the hold of the upper nobility and of the Catholic Church over the people, and to improve the living conditions of the general population. One of the major vehicles for the

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<sup>11</sup>Quoted by Berger, Die preussische Verwaltung, p. 70.





envisaged changes was the improvement of the educational system on both the elementary and the secondary levels. It appears, though, that under his energetic administration the formerly active resistance subsided and took on more subtle, passive forms. The attempt to enforce the Catholic Church's compliance on the issue of mixed marriages that led to the imprisonment of Archbishop Dunin, finally brought his downfall. The cause for his resignation in 1841 was the more conciliatory approach of the new king, Frederick William IV. The laudatory comments on his concern for the gymnasia and the Realschule of Meseritz as they appeared in many of the schools' annual reports in 1841 are an expression of how much his policies in support of the 'German' schools had been appreciated; understandably, no comment of this kind was made by the Marien-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium of Tremessen.

A shift of emphasis occurred under his successor, Count Arnim-Boitzenburg, in that the former president of the District of Merseburg endeavoured to reaffirm his links with the Polish aristocracy as they had been established during his studies in Goettingen. Whereas Flottwell had focused his efforts of disseminating German culture on the lower strata of the province's population, Arnim tried to win over the intellectual elite. The example given in Chapter Seven illustrates this contention. When Arnim became Minister of the Interior in 1842, his deputy, von Beurmann, who had already served under Flottwell, was now appointed President-in-Chief, and he continued the policy of appeasement. However, his humanitarian orientation proved to be incompatible with the requirements of strong and determined leadership during the revolutionary period of 1848-49, and he resigned in 1850.



The last President-in-Chief during the period under discussion, von Bonin, was remarkable in that his first term of office lasted for only nine months, and he was reinstated in 1860. In 1851 his resignation was demanded by the then Minister of the Interior, von Westfalen, because Bonin had refused to reactivate the former regional assemblies of the province (Kreistage). As he argued, the restoration of the aristocracy's political influence would antagonize peasants and farmers, but also strengthen the opposition within the province. Perhaps here the influence of Flottwell, with whom he had briefly been associated at Magdeburg from 1842 to 1844, could be felt.

In conclusion, a similar tendency as previously discussed in the context of the appointment of teachers for the schools of the province can be observed with respect to the presidents-in-chief: During the early years, what might be called 'field-experience', i.e., some expertise concerning the specific conditions prevailing in Prussia's eastern provinces, had apparently been considered necessary. Following the Flottwell-era, administrators with only marginal interest in the province as such, but more strongly reflecting royal and ministerial policies, were obviously preferred. In the light of the more liberal approach initially chosen by Frederick William IV, this policy was possibly best suited to contribute to the short-lived stability of the province during the early 1840's, for it prevented the re-emergence of leading officials who felt a strong personal commitment and engagement for determining the future course of the Grand Duchy.

But before an overall assessment of the top-administrators' influence on educational matters will be provided, three final examples



will be mentioned in which the interaction between the upper levels of the educational administration and the schools as such becomes more transparent.

(c) The Rise of Preparatory Classes

The principle of a unitary approach to education as it had been endorsed by the Prussian reformers, was most conspicuously abandoned during the 1830's when the public elementary schools were apparently deemed by some segments of society in Prussia proper as well as in the Grand Duchy, to be insufficient with respect to the preparation of future high-school students. At least three of the schools discussed so far introduced their own preparatory classes between the years 1836 and 1845. It is interesting to note that the Gymnasium of Lissa had established those classes in its early years, but they were abolished. Only in the 1870's were they re-introduced.

The first school to adopt the 'new' practice was the Marien-Gymnasium,<sup>12</sup> and Bromberg and Tremessen followed suit in 1845.<sup>13</sup> But it is the events related to the establishment of those classes at the Gymnasium of Bromberg that are of major significance for the present argument, since they highlight some of the administrative as well as the concomitant socio-political problems. The new principal in Bromberg was J.H. Deinhardt who had been transferred from Prussia in 1844 to replace the former principal, Mueller. He has been described as a man "in whom the spirit of the Prussian performance of duty was combined with the

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<sup>12</sup> Jahresbericht des Marien-Gymnasiums zu Posen, 1836.

<sup>13</sup> Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Tremessen, 1845.





idealism of German culture".<sup>14</sup> According to the same source, he took a firm stance with regard to Polish influences. The special consideration given to the Polish language was gradually eliminated during his term of office. When he informed the Provincial Education Commission of his plan to introduce a preparatory class, the potential need for such a measure was readily conceded by the authorities:

We think that many parents of the local upper citizenry and of higher officials would prefer to send their sons to such a preparatory class rather than to a local elementary school, particularly since the high enrolment in the first grades hinders the intellectual progress of the individual student.

However, as the Commission continued to argue, private schools were legally admissable only "if they meet actual needs, and if public instruction for school-age children is not sufficiently provided".

The conditions did obviously not exist in Bromberg at that time. Apart from an elementary school for boys, instructing 13 pupils in the highest grade, 24 in grade two, 24 in grade three, and 49 and 62 in the two 'basic' grades, there existed two more elementary schools for boys and girls "for the poorer children living in the outskirts of the city, and having a much higher enrolment". As the letter assured, the latter schools were not designated for the sons of the upper citizenry and of higher officials.<sup>15</sup> Since elementary education was under the jurisdiction of the local authorities and thus not a concern of the Provincial Education

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<sup>14</sup>W. Brunck and H. Sudheimer (eds.), Festschrift zum 110. Stiftungsfest des Koenigl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, 1817-1927 (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Gebrueder Hoffmann, o.J.), p. 15.

<sup>15</sup>Letter from the Provincial Education Commission, of November 17, 1844. Akten des Gymnasiums zu Bromberg, Sygn. Rep. 2, II, 1818. The tuition-fee for the proposed class was 1 Thaler and 15 Groschen per month.





Commission as such, the Commissioners felt they were in no position of granting the permission requested by Deinhardt.

This notwithstanding, he announced the new preparatory class in January 1845. By including Latin in the courses offered, he not only appealed to those parents who wanted their sons to have a headstart with Latin upon entering the Gymnasium, but Deinhardt also successfully tried to circumvent municipal interference which might have terminated his plans. The inclusion of Latin had practically given the preparatory class a special position, outside the realm of elementary schooling, and it was now under the authority of the Provincial Education Commission. Although Deinhardt was reprimanded by the Commissioners in Posen for having acted without their knowledge and consent, he was allowed to continue the class so that he would not be exposed to public criticism.

Similar instances may have happened elsewhere in the Prussian provinces; and yet, in the context of the political and social developments in the Grand Duchy in general and in Bromberg in particular, some comments are warranted. First of all, Deinhardt's preference and concern for students from well-to-do families was obviously instrumental for his measure. In the light of the demographic situation in Bromberg, i.e., with Bromberg being the administrative centre of the District of Bromberg, located in a comparatively 'German' environment, the majority of the students in the preparatory class was presumably German. On the other hand, the administrative principle of establishing additional educational facilities only if existing schools did not meet the needs of the population by and large, suggests that the ideal of equal opportunities was officially still pursued. The conflict between the ideal



and social reality reflects the growing tendency among the emerging 'bourgeoisie' to strengthen their position by means of education, and in the case of the Gymnasium of Bromberg it was through the personal influence of Deinhardt, coming directly from Prussia proper, that this tendency was transplanted to the Grand Duchy, where the social conditions had been less favourable for a new 'class' to develop. If Prussian teachers, being in most cases of middle-class origin themselves, were placed into positions that conferred on them decision-making powers, then outcomes as the one just discussed could be expected. However, the fact that ten years earlier preparatory classes had been introduced at the Marien-Gymnasium, points at a cross-culturally observable phenomenon, namely that education was increasingly accepted as providing the basis for social status; first manifestations of this tendency were apparently found in places where a concentration of the new class occurred. It is interesting to note that the establishment of preparatory classes at the Marien-Gymnasium occurred during the Flottwell-years, when a counter-influence against the Polish aristocracy was initiated.

Perhaps even more important in the context of the present chapter is another aspect. Given the existence of the principle of equal opportunity, there was obviously an indulgence on the part of the Provincial Education Commission, motivated by political reasons which were considered to override administrative principles. The specific circumstances existing in the Grand Duchy repeatedly created situations where a decision had to be made whether a 'political' solution should be preferred over a legal-rationalistic one. A similar stance had obviously been taken when the transfer of Dr. Benecke from the Marien-



Gymnasium was deemed advisable, but was not carried out in order not to give the appearance of yielding to public pressure. An even more conspicuous example was provided in the case of the principal of the Realschule Krotoschin, Gladisch, who, despite his shortcomings as a teacher, was promoted due to interference by high-level officials, including the Minister of Education himself.

But there were also instances where rational-legalistic principles overruled politically inspired demands, although one might argue that the respective decision was not without second thoughts of a political nature.

In 1842 the Minister of Education, Eichhorn, reported to the King that the delegates of the Fifth Provincial Diet had requested the establishment and the financial support of a Catholic gymnasium in Ostrowo. The petition had previously been supported by Flottwell, and his successor, von Arnim, but also the Provincial Education Commission favoured Krotoschin as the place for the new school. Eichhorn argued that

the rationale for the decision to be made has to be based on the geographic location, the economic and denominational situation of the respective population, the actual educational needs of the region and, finally, on the public opinion and the overall climate or atmosphere within the respective community.<sup>16</sup>

As his detailed report indicated, Ostrowo's geographical location was more favourable; demographically, a Protestant and thus German population of 35,241 lived in the area to be served by the new school, as

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<sup>16</sup>Letter by the Minister Eichhorn, of February 24, 1842. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8948.





compared to 161,841 Catholic or Polish people. For these reasons, the Polish population's needs had to be given priority, "with all the consequences that might be entailed with regard to language and the appointment of teachers". Additionally, the Grand Duchy's Protestant population, totalling 372,789, was already being served by two Protestant gymnasias in Posen and Bromberg, and an almost Protestant gymnasium at Lissa. The Catholics, on the other hand, with a total of 783,912 had only one fully developed gymnasium in Posen, since the one at Tremessen was still in its beginnings. This disproportion would require a decision in favour of Ostrowo, especially since Krotoschin was located amidst a strongly Protestant populace. Finally, instead of upgrading an already existing secondary school, and instead of changing a 'Protestant' institution into a 'Catholic' gymnasium, the decision should favour the establishment of an entirely new school.<sup>17</sup>

The Prussian government has to be credited for its choice of Ostrowo over Krotoschin. The changes in the political climate under Frederick William IV in the early 1840's may partly explain the outcome.

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<sup>17</sup> Letter from Eichhorn, of February 24, 1842. Akten des Oberpraesidiums Posen, Nr. 8748. In the first programme of the new gymnasium the importance of the school for less affluent citizens was emphasized, since they had not been able in previous years to send their sons to secondary schools in distant cities. The new school was therefore considered to cater for the needs of all the citizens, irrespective of their socio-economic status, and "the son of the peasant will sit next to the son of the landowner". The opening address was given in Polish and stressed the King's declared intention to promote at the gymnasium the Polish nationality and the Polish language. The principal asked the audience in his concluding remarks for "trustful cooperation, particularly since he was German and might thus cause some concern and suspicion". Erster Jahresbericht des Koenigl. Gymnasiums zu Ostrowo, 1846.





Furthermore, at the same time Eichhorn had taken the place of von Altenstein as the new Minister of Education. On the other hand, the fact that Flottwell had supported Ostrowo contrary to von Arnim, appears to exclude nationalistic motives in this specific instance. Leuchtenberger's assessment of the 1842-decision, given only a few decades later,<sup>18</sup> throws an interesting light on the situation in 1842, but also on the differences of perception with respect to political decisions in the 1840's and 1880's. In his view, the government should have foreseen that Krotoschin would have attracted more German students to the southern part of the province, just as Ostrowo had actually attracted many Polish students. The Polish character of the school forced German students to accept this character or stay away from the school, until in later years Polish and German streams were introduced. If those aspects had been considered, the decision in favour of Krotoschin would have been imperative, and "the German-patriotic idea would have been victorious, since it would have been a truly national decision".

The discussion of the rationale for the choice of Ostrowo appears to have a certain relevance for the present chapter in that the rise of preparatory classes as well as the foundation of an entirely new school at approximately the same time necessitated a decision which implied pedagogical as well as political values. In the case of the principal of the Gymnasium of Bromberg, protestations by the public were

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<sup>18</sup>Gottlieb Leuchtenberger, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Krotoschin (Krotoschin: Friedrich A. Kosmael, 1886). For further reference see also Jahresbericht ueber das Gymnasium zu Krotoschin, 1855, which provides a comprehensive account of the organizational and structural changes during the period 1836 and 1855.



obviously not to be expected, and therefore the 'political' decision could be made without fear of repercussions. The issue of the new school in the Grand Duchy's southern part, on the other hand, was politically most sensitive, since the demand for it had originated in the Provincial Diet, i.e., here the 'public' was most directly involved. Seen from this point of view, there is the suggestion that the higher levels of the administration did not altogether ignore pressures 'from below', particularly when the precarious stability established after 1840 could thereby be preserved.

(d) The Controversy of Realism Versus Philosophical Humanism in the Grand Duchy

The misgivings voiced by Leuchtenberger can also be viewed from a slightly different perspective. The two non-academic schools in Meseritz and Krotoschin had for years sought to improve their reputation by obtaining a status that was comparable to that of the gymnasias. As will be shown immediately, the decision to be reached by the educational administration, again, involved a weighing of pedagogical and administrative considerations with political ones. Here, as well, the particular status of the Grand Duchy was of crucial importance. The position taken by the central administration was at least initially unambiguous: According to the instruction by the Ministry of Education of March 8, 1832, all the schools providing instruction beyond the primary level and offering at least a five-years' course were designated as Hoehere Buergerschulen or Realschulen, unless they fully qualified as a gymnasium with respect to their course-offerings. But like the gymnasias, they were entitled to have their graduates exempted from full-time military service of two years: At



the completion of grade five (Ober-Tertia) they qualified as 'Einjaehrige,' i.e., their army-service was reduced to one year.

With the establishment of the Realschule Meseritz in 1832 as one of the first in the Monarchy, its programme contained a good deal of criticism of the gymnasium and its purely academic orientation:

The Realschule will give its students an education as it is required by the needs of the present, going beyond a generally humanistic approach. In other words, what a student learns should not only enrich him intellectually and emotionally, but be applicable to the various circumstances of civic life as much as possible. Apart from those students who are inclined towards an academic career, there are some others in the higher grades who think of going into more sophisticated trades, and they therefore wish to acquire an extensive scholarly background, as, for example, those who will inherit vast landholdings, and the sons of capitalists. Those students attend the Prima for one year only, receive the Abitur-certificate and then move on to further studies at a technical academy or at the university in order to prepare themselves for their future occupation.<sup>19</sup>

However, during the next quarter of a century, the annual programmes as well as the institutional histories of the two Realschulen are full of comments that reflect the struggle for recognition as a respectable secondary school, and students, parents, and administrators were urged again and again by the principals of the two schools to overcome the prejudice of an inferior status of the Realschule as such. For instance, the submission from Kerst, principal at Meseritz for many years, to the educational authorities in 1845 argued that, whatever the fate of the Realschule was in the immediate future, its educational principles would eventually emerge victoriously; although a degree of resignation can be

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<sup>19</sup> Jahresbericht der Koenigl. Realschule zu Meseritz, 1839. The presentation of those objectives had been approved by the Provincial Education Commission by instruction of April 4, 1838.





felt in this statement, a strong conviction regarding the worth of more practice-oriented education can be seen as well. It was particularly at Meseritz and under the leadership of Kerst that equal status with the gymnasium was sought, and political considerations played as important a part as did the pedagogical. It was, as has been argued before, within the Polish tradition of education to expect a more utilitarian thrust of the secondary schools than the gymnasia provided, and Marg's contention that a widespread bias against the gymnasium among the Polish upper class existed, appears to be justified.<sup>20</sup> As he argued, Polish nobles would not and could not let their sons enter upon a career in public life, namely the civil service, and the recruitment of the clergy happened primarily from the ranks of low-income families. For most of the other careers open to their sons, the gymnasia were not considered to be the appropriate institutions. The Realschule with its emphasis on more immediate practicality therefore seemed to appeal much more to the expectations of the Polish upper and middle classes than all the other secondary schools. And in order to intensify this appeal, Kerst pressed for a designation of his school that would emphasize the prestigious status of the gymnasium, combined with the 'professional' orientation of the Realschule. For this reason he aspired to the name of a Real-Gymnasium for his school. Not only would the term indicate the school's objectives, but at the same time would a distinction be effected with regard to the less demanding Hoehere Buergerschule. As a result, the

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<sup>20</sup> See: Jahresbericht ueber das Gymnasium zu Krotoschin, 1855, but also Rudolf Marg, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Meseritz (Meseritz: Buchdruckerei von P. Matthias, 1883).





German influence on the Polish nobility would be intensified, since Meseritz was situated within a predominantly German area and, as discussed before, its teaching-staff was representing the German element more strongly than at any other secondary school in the Grand Duchy.

The extent to which Kerst was motivated by political interests or by personal ambition is difficult to assess. His political aspirations must have been very strong as his nomination for the Frankfurt-Parliament suggests, and his speech in the debate of the Polish question clearly displayed his strongly nationalist orientation as far as his attitude towards the future status of the Grand Duchy is concerned. When his ambitious plans for the school in Meseritz collapsed, he did not return to his position and, instead, became director in the Ministry for Naval Affairs in Berlin.

Later assessments of the aforementioned issue have pointed out the probability that the resistance against the establishment of a Real-Gymnasium in the Grand Duchy came from the gymnasia of the province.<sup>21</sup> And even when Beger in his book<sup>22</sup> quotes the principal of the Gymnasium of Bromberg, Deinhardt, as a crown-witness in support of the need for a Real-Gymnasium, Deinhardt's following statement is not convincing:

The need for Realschulen, as shown by the enrolment-figures, has never been greater, and if I am right, it will continue to become more urgent, thereby making the establishment of Realschulen a necessity that cannot be ignored by any city. What is needed at the same time is to clearly differentiate between the viewpoints of the gymnasium at one hand and the

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<sup>21</sup>Marg, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt in Meseritz.

<sup>22</sup>August Beger, Die Idee des Realgymnasiums (Leipzig: Verlag der J.C. Hinrichsschen Buchhandlung, 1845), p. ii.



viewpoint of the Hoehere Buergerschule on the other, so that there will be no competition among them, but coexistence as equal partners, serving their specific functions.

The need for Realschulen had been recognized before Deinhardt as early as the early eighteenth century when Semler and Francke had introduced this type of school;<sup>23</sup> but no indication is contained in the above quote that a school was needed located somewhere between the gymnasium and the Realschule.

Not only were the gymnasia reluctant. According to Weimer,<sup>24</sup> who also identifies the quest for an upgraded Realschule as an objective of the upcoming industrial middle class (gewerbtaetiges Buerkertum), the same or even greater resistance came from the ranks of the government. Especially under the reign of Frederick William IV a great deal of opposition was voiced against the humanistic orientation of the gymnasia: It was too secular, and attempts had been made in Prussia, e.g. at Guetersloh, to replace the 'humanist' gymnasium by a 'Christian' gymnasium. The utilitarian and naturalistic thrust of the Real-Gymnasium was, therefore, even more unacceptable. This very attitude was clearly displayed at the 1848-conference for the reorganization of secondary education, which will be discussed as the final part of the present chapter. So-called philosophical realism was here equated with the educational objectives of the Realschul-movement, and philosophical humanism with the educational principles of the gymnasium. And while

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<sup>23</sup>Hermann Weimer and Heinz Weimer, Geschichte der Paedagogik (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter & Co., 1958), p. 80

<sup>24</sup>Weimer, Geschichte der Paedagogik, pp. 142-43.



realism as a child of the Enlightenment was looked upon suspiciously in years to come, even the last traces of philosophical humanism as it had been introduced by Humboldt, Suevern, etc. were now being curbed since humanism allegedly fostered modes of thought that were detrimental to an unquestioning acceptance of Christian dogmas.

What is of importance in the present context is the dilemma that the educational administration was obviously faced with in the Grand Duchy: On one hand, the contentions brought forth by Kerst, namely that an upgraded Realschule had the potential of attracting Polish students and thus might become an instrument for germanization, must have been politically attractive. Priority, on the other hand, was given to the consideration that the spirit which might nurture revolutionary feelings, would have to be eliminated in the first place. Concern for law and order in the entire Monarchy was more important than the more localized political objectives in the Grand Duchy.

(e) The Deliberations About Educational Reforms, and the Demands of Teachers

The high hopes among liberals and democrats in the wake of the 1848-revolution were shared by the teachers of the secondary schools of the Grand Duchy, and from their demands one can infer which administrative measures and principles had been experienced as being most oppressive. Thus, when the Minister of Education, von Schwerin, invited the delegates of the Prussian secondary schools for the conference on educational reforms, the various schools of the Grand Duchy submitted their proposals to the two representatives of the province, Dr. Brettner from the Marien-Gymnasium, and Gaebel, vice-principal of the Realschule



Meseritz. Unfortunately, only the submission of the schools in Ostrowo, Meseritz, and the Marien-Gymnasium have been available for the following discussion.

The concerns voiced by the teaching-staff at Meseritz focused on the status of the Realschule as compared to the gymnasium, and the following changes were requested:

- (1) Equality of Realschule and gymnasium with respect to their status within the educational system, and to the qualifications granted to graduates;
- (2) only philologists and theologians should be required to go through the programme offered by the gymnasium;
- (3) since only after grade three (Tertia) differences became more pronounced in secondary schools, the curricula of gymnasias and Realschulen should be identical for the first three years.<sup>25</sup>

Here, once more, the conviction is expressed that the Realschulen offering a more comprehensive education that would facilitate the transition from humanistic to realistic orientations in later professional life, should not be considered inferior to the gymnasium, but as being different only. The emphasis on classical languages would mark the major difference between the two types, and this specialization would be compensated for by the Realschule's emphasis on science, i.e., on more practical subjects.

A different kind of issues was presented by the teachers of the Marien-Gymnasium, and here the thrust of the recommendations throws

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<sup>25</sup> Rudolf Marg, Geschichte der hoeheren Lehranstalt zu Meseritz (Meseritz: Buchdruckerei von P. Mattias, 1883), pp. 37-38.





an interesting light on another aspect of the educational administration and the kind of grievances that those teachers felt should be removed or re-examined:

- (1) the establishment of a Ministry of Education that should deal exclusively with educational matters. Officials employed by the ministry should be educational practitioners;
- (2) the dismissal of teachers should not be possible on merely administrative grounds;
- (3) secret personal files should be disallowed;
- (4) teachers employed at the same school should have the same legal status;
- (5) salaries should be standardized;
- (6) fees for secondary schools should be abolished;
- (7) a new legislation should be developed for the retirement of teachers.<sup>26</sup>

Additionally, in anticipation of a political division of the Grand Duchy, the language of instruction at Catholic gymnasia should be Polish both for pedagogical and for political reasons. As long as not all the teachers at those schools spoke Polish, the 1842-regulation should be reinstituted, i.e., Polish should be the language of instruction in the four lowest grades for Polish students.

The difference in emphasis of the two teaching-staffs is remarkable in that the Meseritz-teachers were apparently fully supporting their principal, Kerst, and their vice-principal, Gaebel. The

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<sup>26</sup>Minutes of the staff-conference of June 30, 1848. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 614, and of January 9, 1849. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 615.



teachers of the Marien-Gymnasium, on the other hand, were obviously more concerned with the status of the individual teacher in the first place, followed by the controversial language-issue. The latter also received major consideration among the teachers at the Gymnasium of Ostrowo.<sup>27</sup> Starting out from the unanimous consent that the present language regulations were totally unsatisfactory, their opinions on remedial legislation were divided. The main problem with existing regulations was, as everybody agreed, that in the first two grades, where Polish was the major language of instruction, the German students were at a disadvantage, while in the other grades, with German as the sole language of instruction, the Polish students had difficulties in fulfilling the requirements of the respective grade levels. No support was given to Dr. Peterek's suggestion to make German the only language of instruction for all the grades. His argument was that one third of all the students were of German origin, and more German parents would be inclined to send their sons to Ostrowo instead of Silesia, where the language of instruction was German. His further contention, namely that in the light of his experience Polish students could follow instruction in German even if they were of only average intelligence, provided they worked hard enough, was not shared by his colleagues. As the author of the official report of that meeting stated,

. . . we cannot understand why, then, German students of average intelligence could not follow instruction in Polish, and why, if one leaves political considerations aside, the majority should be neglected in favour of the minority, since only some 50 students out of a total of 220 are German.

The political problem was more directly focussed upon in the following comment:

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<sup>27</sup> Submission by the teaching-staff "Concerning requests and recommendations for the teachers' convention in Berlin" to Dr. Brettner as the delegate of the gymnasia, of November 29, 1848. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.



(In making German the sole language of instruction) we can possibly make the students learn, but never educate them and form their characters, even if in history and the natural sciences we may attempt to affect them emotionally. In this way the Gymnasium would fail to reach its objective, especially in the lower grades.

Dr. Jerzykowski's motion to make Polish the only language of instruction was equally rejected, although there was some support. The major difficulty was seen in the absence of a Polish university for the students of the province, and as long as the gymnasium was the only route towards higher studies, students, at least in the upper two grades, had to learn German. A return to the pre-1846 regulations was therefore recommended, and in order to serve both nationalities to the same extent, the request was submitted.

that the Ministry may decree for the Gymnasium of Ostrowo, located in an almost entirely German town, the establishment of four parallel streams for German students. Although the building could accomodate additional classes, a financial support of 3,000 Thalers would be required for hiring additional teachers.

Otherwise, German or Polish students would have to be excluded, dependent on the decision which language was to be chosen for the gymnasium.

The conference was held from April 14 to May 14, 1849. The language-issue was debated at the 21st session on May 9, and Dr. Brettner moved that

if in areas with German and Polish (or French) populations the students of a secondary school exclusively or predominantly belong to one of the nationalities, their mother-tongue will be the language of instruction, and the other language will be a subject for instruction. Should there be students of both nationalities in sufficient numbers to warrant the establishment of German, Polish, or French classes, then in German classes Polish (or French), or in Polish (or French) classes German will become a compulsory subject.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Conference on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in Berlin, April 14-May 14, 1849, pp. 152-54. Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny, Sygn. 30.



It is interesting to note that the representative of the Silesian schools, Wissowa, wanted Brettner's motion not to apply to the schools in Silesia, such as the gymnasia at Oppeln, Gleiwitz, and Ratibor which had a great number of Polish students, "since the germanization of Silesia is more advanced, and its further extension is in the interest of the state. Moreover, the Polish dialect spoken there is of inferior quality and not worth preserving".

Although the participants of the conference respected the right of the Polish population to have their language used in schools, concern was expressed that the German population's interests had to be considered as well, and Dr. Brettner's motion was defeated. Polish as the sole language of instruction was not deemed advisable in any case, and the use of German should be expanded for instructional purposes. In the case of Ostrowo, Polish and German streams in the first two grades should be permitted, but since this was an exceptional case, it should be dealt with on the administrative rather than the legislative level.

The Berlin-conference on the reorganization of secondary education marks the end of the period under discussion. And yet, a brief characterization of what the effected changes were about, seems to be warranted. Rethwisch's assessment has certainly to be understood from his 1893-position, but it nonetheless appears to capture the spirit of secondary education as it emerged in years to come:

The proposals for the reconstruction of secondary education (after 1848/49) are pervaded by one idea: Our cultural heritage belongs to our fatherland. We want to preserve and expand the inherited precious wealth of intellectual achievements, in order to serve our fatherland and thereby the world. In the service of the fatherland--since our country can only rise to its full power and glory if all its sons dedicate





their powers to its future growth, and only within a great and mighty fatherland can those powers be fully developed. From this guiding idea stems the need of making the feeling of civic unity (das staatsbuergerliche Einheitsgefuehl) the determining principle of the schools' rationale and their curricula.<sup>29</sup>

Only by implication can the four areas of emphasis which Rethwisch considered to have characterized the post-1850 period, be related to the items discussed in the present chapter: (1) the politicization of culture; (2) the integration of secondary education into broader national objectives; (3) the preservation and expansion of spiritual or intellectual culture beyond state boundaries; and (4) emphasis on civic education that focuses on unity, with the state as the central idea. The means to achieve these objectives are outlined elsewhere in Rethwisch's book: De-escalation of denominational controversies, preference to be given to the culture of the German language, instead of Latin, and more attention to be given to physical education.

Certain consequences appear to be implied for the secondary schools in the Province of Posen. The identification of Catholic and Polish which continued into the second half of the century would have to be overcome in that the lessening of denominational confrontation would entail less distinctions between Polish and German nationality. But

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<sup>29</sup>Conrad Rethwisch, Deutschlands hoeheres Schulwesen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert (Berlin: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893), p. 74. Interesting is also his evaluation of the changes introduced under the Minister of Education, Eichhorn: The development of high-level intellectual education was somewhat de-emphasized, and, instead, more stress was laid on the application of knowledge. "The objective is to transform knowledge into action, and to accustom the young to viewing education not as a means for increased enjoyment of life, but as a duty of honour, and as the best possible means to act in the interest of the community". (p. 70).



in the light of the administrative measures outlined above, especially with regard to language, there can be no doubt that German language and German culture determined the parameters of further educational policies. The same argument applies to the preference of German over Latin. Just as the policy of the Polish Commission for National Education was 'national' in its emphasis on Polish over Latin, the same holds true for Prussian developments after 1850; the neo-humanist orientation was thereby officially ended and replaced by clearly national goals. At the same time, the central position of the classical languages within the schools' programmes was from now on increasingly challenged, and the natural sciences began to move to the forefront. In contrast to previous Polish efforts to utilize their language for purposes of political socialization, Prussian objectives went beyond that mark by strongly curbing the use of languages other than German for national minorities. Lastly, greater concern for more physical education can be interpreted as a response to the alarming study of the physician Dr. Lorinser For the Protection of Health in Our Schools in which the overburdening of students with intellectual work was castigated. However, the intimate relationship between the physical education movement as introduced by F.L. Jahn in the early 1800's and the quest for national education, and here especially for the military preparedness of the young, offers an additional explanation for the 'rediscovery' of physical education, after it had been barred from the schools for most of the time during the 1815-1850-period. At least the use to which physical education was put at Meseritz after the revolutionary years of 1848/49 indicates a political rather than sanitary dimension, and the context



in which Rethwisch refers to the subject, points in the same direction.<sup>30</sup>

(f) Assessment of Administrative Policies

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the bureaucratization of public affairs in Prussia had also begun to have its effects on the Grand Duchy and her schools, and with the transfer of administrative principles had the underlying values been transmitted as well. Little or no modifications were considered to suit the specific socio-cultural conditions of the province, and whatever adjustments had been made during the initial years, they were phased out in the course of time.

The most salient aspect of the organizational structure of the administration was its hierarchism, and the concomitant rules and norms of super- and subordination were fully applied to the new province, irrespective of their usefulness and applicability for the ethnically more heterogeneous population. The expected uniformity of all the Prussian provinces was thereby brought closer to its realization, although some of the regulations handed down by the central administration were dysfunctional with regard to the Grand Duchy's specific conditions. Part of the reason was the unfamiliarity of most high-ranking officials with the eastern provinces as such, but also the kind of 'feedback' which the central offices received from the province's top-officials. Here the 'germanization' not only of the province's educational admin-

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<sup>30</sup> The administration had recognized the value of physical education as a subject to be included in the programme, both for health-reasons, and "to educate able sons for the fatherland", as early as 1842. See, Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Lissa, 1843.



istrative personnel, but also of the teaching-staffs in a number of schools seems to have reinforced some of the clichés existing about the Grand Duchy. One can almost speak of a vicious circle in that a certain prejudice concerning life in Prussian Poland, as it existed among many educated Prussians, coloured much of the expectations and behavioural dispositions of those officials who were transferred to the province. Acting in accordance with those expectations tended to provoke adverse reactions on the part of the Grand Duchy's population, thereby reinforcing the prejudice and reporting it back to Prussia.

The examples provided throughout the present study and especially in the present chapter have, however, also pointed at the danger of undue generalizations. There were, for example, Prussian teachers as well as administrators who displayed a great deal of impartiality or even sympathetic understanding of the population's needs. Thus there existed a certain amount of diversity among 'lower-level' officials, including teachers, ranging from natives of the Grand Duchy--Polish as well as German--to staunch proponents of a Prusso-German cultural mission, who would see the germanization of the Grand Duchy less as a political issue, but as a cultural-educative necessity or even obligation for the Prussian state. Medium- and high-level officials, on the other hand, appear to have tended towards a de-personalized functioning within the authority-structure, deciding to the best of their abilities, but generally devoid of an understanding of, and concern for, the problems involved.

The basic working-principle of bureaucratic organizations, namely the rational-legal foundation of their authority, was superseded by political considerations in a number of cases. It is here that the





Prussian administration appears to have inflicted upon itself a fair amount of discredit and distrust, especially in the Grand Duchy where even minor issues (which might have gone unnoticed in Prussia proper), were more clearly exhibiting their political ramifications. And since the decisions to be made were dictated by Prussian state interests rather than by the vital interests of the Grand Duchy's population, they were likely to be perceived by the population as nationalistically inspired. Conversely, the subsequent opposition from Polish social groups was seen as ingratitude towards officialdom, and as the unwillingness of understanding 'impartial' administrative decisions.

And yet, at least in retrospect can the situation of the province's secondary schools during the 1815-1850 period be assessed as comparatively unsettled, i.e., there was still some room left for dissent and for bargaining; especially the demands or proposals suggested for the 1848-conference in Berlin most vividly expressed the concerns and the disagreement with the administration in a variety of educational issues. In this regard the year 1850 marked a decisive turning-point, as Rethwisch's characterization of the future course of secondary education in the second half of the century clearly indicates.



## CHAPTER NINE

### Secondary Schools and the Changes in Politics, Society, and Culture:

#### Overall Assessment and Conclusions

The discussion has so far attempted to probe into the various aspects of secondary education in relation to the political, social, and cultural environments in which the schools operated, and the way in which these institutions changed in accordance with newly emerging requirements and at the same time acted as catalysts for further change, has formed the major body of the previous chapters. It cannot be the purpose of the final chapter to merely summarize and reiterate the partial conclusions offered in the foregoing pages, but to draw the various strands of thought together and place them into a broad cultural framework which may then, hopefully, establish a basis for further research.

#### (a) The cultural basis of the 1815-1850 period

Neither the issue of nationalism nor the changes in educational thought can be fully understood unless the intellectual or cultural revolution as part and parcel of the industrial revolution has been taken into account. Concomitant with, and in the wake of, changes in the mode of production, of communication, of transportation, of new organizational patterns in labour relations, there emerged new modes of interpreting the world and its material and spiritual properties. At an ever increasing



pace were new scientific discoveries utilized for the improvement of material production, and more than ever was the growth of industry, trade, and commerce pressing for greater and more sophisticated intellectual production. The cultural gap between post-Partitions Poland and Prussia widened to some extent probably because of the slow rate of industrial development. Although the Grand Duchy was economically perhaps even better off than the other two parts of Poland at the time of the Partitions, little was done by the Prussian government to improve this standard, contrary to some efforts made in the Kingdom of Poland, especially before 1831. Complaints in this respect had been voiced after di Sposetti had been replaced by Baumann as the new President-in-Chief. Also the migration of unskilled labour to Germany's industrial centres during the second half of the century, as well as the emigration of large numbers of Poles to overseas countries throughout the nineteenth century testify to the low-keyed industrial growth. Conversely, the development of new centres of mining, smelting, and spinning resulted in a rapid expansion of urban areas in the quasi-independent Kingdom of Poland.<sup>1</sup> A different picture, however, was visible in agriculture, where the liberation of the serfs provided new prospects for peasants throughout the Grand Duchy.

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<sup>1</sup>Karl Hartmann, "Die Kultur der Polen" in Eugen Thurnher, (ed), Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte (Frankfurt/M.: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1970), pp. 103-04. The Kingdom of Poland was promoting industrial development most strongly during 1815 and 1842, the two major centres being Warsaw and Lodz; Warsaw's population thereby increased from 65,000 in 1800 to 131,000 in 1825 and 276,000 in 1870. Lodz, the Polish Manchester, had a population of 900 in 1825, and increased to 50,000 by 1870. As a corollary, part of the bourgeoisie replaced the aristocracy as the supporters and consumers of cultural goods.



A parallel change was effected with regard to psychological orientations that were required of the individual. The universalistic world-view, grounded in the doctrines of an all-encompassing Church, was gradually destroyed, and the secularization as it had gained momentum under the influence of the Enlightenment and of neo-humanism was intensified by the claims now made by the state, i.e., the administration of public affairs. Regional interests and loyalties became more important, increasingly so as the cosmopolitanism of the philosophers of the Enlightenment was substituted by the demands imposed by the nation-state. Here the educational reforms introduced after 1815, and most evidently Kauffuss' book Education for the State were indicative of new patterns of thinking and behaving as they were expected of the individual. Additionally, the Protestant character of the Prussian state and its representatives set new standards for a predominantly Catholic population, a feature that was less noticeable in the Russian and Austrian territories. The identification of Polish and Catholic on one side, and German and Protestant on the other, geared the value-system transmitted by the secondary schools towards ideas that were alien or even hostile to indigenous cultural traditions. The comments made by Schottky when he described his students as 'mental hybrids', whose 'inner harmony' might eventually be destroyed, were similar to Eichhorn's observation almost twenty years later, namely that he missed the 'vitality and the joyfulness' among students of the upper grades.

The political culture underwent significant changes as well. The concept of absolutism, enlightened or not, had most dramatically been challenged in 1789, and the rising middle class began to insist on





constitutional safeguards for the protection of their rights and their property. Individual rights as much as the expansion of civic and economic liberties had already formed the rationale in Humboldt's treatise on the limits of the state's effectiveness. Constitutionalism was accompanied by liberalism, but also by the demand for democracy: In order to ensure adherence to the constitution, new legislation was pressed for that would provide for broader participation of politically relevant groups. No longer should access to positions of decision-making be based on heredity, but by extending the electoral system of recruitment would property and education become the twin pillars on which political and socio-economic success rested. The changing enrolment-patterns in the Grand Duchy's gymnasia, but also the objectives of the Marcinkowski Association reflect those political changes, and the characterization of the leading spokesmen of the Grand Duchy as 'democrats' by von Beurmann in 1841 seems to indicate parallel political developments in Prussia and in the Grand Duchy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Wolfgang Hock, Liberales Denken im Zeitalter der Paulskirche (Muenster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), pp. 69-120, emphasizes the importance of the concept of morality in the political thought of the Liberals, which may partly explain the recurrent references to moral education in the pronouncement of the Provincial Education Commission. As Hock argues on p. 93, "We can assume that the personal and political ideas of the moderate Liberals were centred in the principle of morality. Morality was not only a demand imposed on the individual, but the inherent characteristic of political community-life, i.e., the essence of the state's organization as such".

In Poland, liberalism was comparatively strong in the Kingdom of Poland, and here the same emphasis on moral education could be found, incorporating religious instruction as part of the programme. But since national ideas were definitely present in the thought of Kollataj, Staszic, and also Polands most eminent liberal historian of those years, Lelewel, the liberal movement was severely impeded after 1831. A similar 'flowering' of liberal political thought in the Grand Duchy apparently never took place. For further reference see George T. Bujarski, "Polish Liberalism, 1815-1823" in The Polish Review Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp. 3-37.



One of the most influential concepts of the era of Reason and Enlightenment was 'progress' and the perfectability of man and his social environment. This idea inspired the idealist philosophers as much as the romanticists, and it was also at the root of the most influential theory of the nineteenth century, namely evolution. Erasmus Darwin, Lyell and Malthus in England, Goethe in Germany, and Lamarck in France not only shattered the belief in the Christian dogma of creation and the sinful state of man, but partly went beyond the mechanistic interpretation of progress and perfection as it had characterized the late eighteenth century. The new paradigm of scientific thought was that of organic evolution, and although the full consequences were most strongly experienced in the second half of the century only, some of the effects made themselves felt as early as the 1830's and 1840's. The significance for the present study is twofold: The idea of the state as it dominated the first half of the century was a reflection of Hegel's philosophy of the state developing into an ideal form, thereby strengthening the state's authority; secondly, the rise of organicism marked the beginning of the natural sciences' increasing importance in secondary education, and the controversy between the gymnasia and the Realschule as it emerged at Meseritz under Kerst but also at the conference for the reorganization of secondary education were but two examples of the paradigm-shift.

(b) The cultural development of the Grand Duchy as compared to other Polish territories

The establishment of the Commission for National Education in 1773 and possibly even more so the May-Constitution of 1791 have to be seen as attempts to counter the ill-effects of political powerlessness, but also to attune Poland more strongly to the political, social, and



economic changes as they occurred in Western Europe. The degree, however, to which the partitioning powers reacted to those endeavours was different, reflecting their basic attitudes towards a distinct Polish nationality, and specially towards Polish cultural and educational traditions.<sup>3</sup>

The differences as they relate to industrial growth have already been mentioned; socially, the Prussian territory was the first one to witness the full abolition of serfdom, whereas Austria followed suit as late as 1848. The peasants in Congress Poland, although they had been free since 1807, had to wait until 1864 before they obtained the right of acquiring land. Conversely, the benevolent stance taken by Alexander I in general resulted in an almost unhampered continuation of building activities and architectural innovations stronger than in the Grand Duchy, and it was this semi-autonomous constitution of the Kingdom of Poland before 1831 that made Warsaw the unrivalled cultural centre, attracting the artistic and intellectual elite of the country. When the political climate changed under Nicolas I, restrictions were also introduced in the Grand Duchy, and scholars as well as artists did not emigrate to Posen or Bromberg, but to other European cultural centres, especially Paris. This observation applies particularly to the writers of the Polish romantic movement in literature and music: Mickiewicz, Slowacki, and Krasinski, as well as Chopin, had not participated in the November-uprising of 1830, but they preferred to live and write

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<sup>3</sup>Hartmann, "Die Kultur der Polen", p. 103, speaks of the danger of the imposition of foreign cultural elements and of de-nationalization, which was counteracted by efforts of defending and further developing a national Polish culture.





in exile, rather than in the Austrian or Prussian parts of Poland.

What appears to be of importance is the fact that despite the unquestionable influence of German writers, composers, artists, and philosophers on the Polish cultural elite during those years, there was obviously little room for artistic self-expression and creativity in the Grand Duchy as long as those cultural goods were reflecting Polish national traditions, as expressed in the writings of Mickiewicz and the music of Chopin. The same observation could be made in the discussion of the curricula for history and literature. One has to keep in mind, however, that Polish national literature was increasingly taking an ardently patriotic stance which, as far as the messianistic posture of Polish poets is concerned, even assumed nationalistic overtones: Poland was suffering for the sins of mankind, and the motto of their dramas and poems was: For your freedom as well as ours.

Another aspect in this context is the role of the emigrees for establishing links to intellectual movements, i.e., to political, social, scientific, and artistic innovative thought elsewhere in Europe. The influence of the Hotel 'Lambert' in Paris on the Grand Duchy's political and intellectual life was very strong, at least during the period under discussion, providing most of the ideas that were at the basis of the uprisings of 1830/31 and 1846. Prince Adam Czartoryski was the 'uncrowned King of Poland' in those years, but in most general terms was the effect of the Paris-emigrees on the Grand Duchy's cultural life minimal as far as actual immediate change was concerned. Marcinkowski, but also Mieroslawski appear to be the only two examples where a direct transfer of ideas from France to Posen was evident; in





the case of Libelt a combination of influences from Paris and from German philosophy seems to have prevailed. There is the impression that many of the intellectual movements bypassed the Grand Duchy, or, more specifically, did not find fertile grounds there.<sup>4</sup> Polish theatre as well as Polish journalism had their centres in Warsaw even after 1831, and cities such as Cracow, Wilno, and Lwow (Lemberg) were more strongly attuned to international or rather cross-cultural ideas than Posen or Bromberg. With regard to the period under discussion, it was the University of Wilno that reached the peak of its reputation both as a place of science, such as physics and mathematics, medicine and the social sciences, but also for the arts and literature, until Nicholas I closed the university in 1832. Scholars of international reputation lectured in Latin, French, German, and English, side by side with Polish academics, such as Lelewel, Sniadecki, and Danilowicz, who taught history, natural sciences, and law. Warsaw University was opened in 1818, and it soon established a reputation for itself in the fields of law and medicine, mathematics and physics, the arts and theology; here St. Staszic had been one of the most prominent promoters of a new cultural tradition, and he also revived the Society of the Friends of Science, founded in 1800.

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<sup>4</sup> Libelt was one of the few who had participated in the 1830/31 uprising, served a sentence of several years at the citadel of Magdeburg, and in 1846, shortly after he had become a teacher at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, was involved in the revolt. In 1847 in the Moabit-'Riesenprozess' he was sentenced to death, but freed in 1848. In the literature he is normally referred to as one of the leading social thinkers in contemporary Poland who exercised a considerable influence on Polish social philosophy, Cf. Barnes and Becker, Social Thought from Lore to Science, Vol. 2, pp. 1070-71. In all fairness, however, it deserves mentioning that Libelt together with B. Trentowski and A. Cieskowski made Posen one of the centres of Polish philosophy during the nineteenth century.



The closure of the universities of Wilno and Warsaw also entailed restrictions in elementary and secondary education in the sense of stronger Russification. The two universities in the Austrian part of Poland now became the only centres of academic life, particularly in the field of the humanities and the arts. The foundation of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1825, the Ossolinski-National-Institute (1817) for the promotion of science, and the Technical Academy (1844) indicate the importance of Cracow and Lwow for Polish cultural life. Other associations, such as the Krakauer Gelehrte Gesellschaft (1816), the forerunner of the 1872-Academy of Science, and the Lemberger Gelehrte Gesellschaft supplemented the work done at the universities.

Very little was done in this respect in the Grand Duchy. Hartmann is probably right in contending that Posen had actually never been famous for being a scholarly or cultural centre of the country. No traditions had been established on which the Prussian government or Polish intellectuals could build. On the other hand, the public support given to the Marcinkowski Association seems to be indicative of the potential that could be tapped.

The comparative view of cultural achievements in the three parts of post-Partitions Poland is not supposed to suggest that Russian or Austrian authorities were politically more 'liberal' than the Prussian government during the period under discussion. The point to be made is simply that little or no efforts were made by the Prussian administration to promote the indigenous culture by establishing institutions of higher learning. The only two exceptions, namely the establishment of the Raczynski-Library in Posen (1829) and the Library in Kurnik (1817) were



moderate and primarily local attempts by Polish nobles to foster cultural life in the Grand Duchy. There is reason to assume that Prussian cultural policies for the province were determined by the principle of providing education on an advanced level at Prussian (or German) institutions which already had a high scholarly reputation. Attendance of foreign universities was virtually precluded, and in this way all the academic training of students graduating from the Grand Duchy's secondary schools was passed through the filter of German cultural concepts. The preference shown for the Catholic Seminary in Posen and for the University of Breslau can partly be explained by their congeniality for Polish and Catholic cultural traditions.

The impact that those policies had on the secondary schools has sufficiently been discussed in the previous chapters, and the language-issue was one of the most immediate consequences that the schools were confronted with. It is an open question whether or not different policies would have made any difference in Prusso-Polish relations; the policy of appeasement by Alexander I had not prevented the uprising of 1830/31 (although it was Nicholas I against whom the insurrection was directed), and the new policies under Frederick William IV were followed by the attempted uprising of 1846. The answer seems to lie in the nature of nationalism as it existed in the early nineteenth century. The preservation or even expansion of national spheres of interest, mainly for geo-political reasons, increasingly formed an essential part of Austrian, Prussian, and Russian state-policies, as the secret meeting of the three monarchs in 1833 suggests. The wavering Prussian attitude in 1848 confirms rather than refutes this contention: After the fear of Russian intervention to crush the revolution in Prussia had abated, the



former policy was resumed and even intensified.

Seen from this point of view, Prussian cultural policies including education and here specifically secondary schools, were part and parcel of the objective of firmly and permanently incorporating Prussian Poland into the monarchy, and the fact that the means by which this goal was to be achieved were based on German rather than Polish culture suggests to label the respective policies as germanization. This aspect will have to be more specifically substantiated in the following discussion.

(c) Secondary Schools as Agencies for Germanization

The concept of germanization in Prussia's most eastern province underwent significant changes over the years. At least during the early years of the nineteenth century were ethno-cultural implications of no concern, particularly since the idea of a Polish 'nation' was substantially different if one looks at the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and compares it to the issue of nationality some fifty years later. By the same token, the German concept of nation underwent changes at about the same time. Thus the initial usage of 'germanization' focused on increasing the state's efficiency by means of securing conformity, i.e., of introducing rational administration to all parts of the Prussian monarchy. Part of this overall objective was the use of a common language within the bureaucracy, and specific language-rights could be granted as long as they did not interfere with the interests of the centralized state. Educational institutions, and here especially secondary schools, were expected to provide the future elite of the country, and in this regard the gymnasia and Realschulen of





the Grand Duchy formed no exception.

In the wake of the Wars of Liberation a new dimension was introduced. Ethnic and linguistic considerations increasingly formed indispensable aspects of the 'nation' in the modern sense, and the concept of germanization took on a new connotation. Instead of viewing the state as the benevolent, though authoritarian, instrument of efficient administration, it was now more and more seen as the representative of a German nationality. At the same time, however, also the idea of a Polish 'nation' began to undergo major changes, thereby setting the two national groups living in the Grand Duchy on a course of recurring confrontations. The entire 35-year period witnessed this gradual shift in the usage of the concepts of 'germanization' and 'nation'; as the following discussion will show, a distinction between the 'older' and the 'newer' usage in the respective pronouncements is at times difficult.

The question of whether or not germanization had formed part of Prussian policies for the eastern province before 1850 has been answered in different ways. According to Laubert, for example, there was no national-political objective (nationalpolitische Zielsetzung) on the part of the Prussian government before 1871 as far as the Province of Posen was concerned<sup>5</sup>, and Flottwell was pursuing "absolute justice", exhibiting a great deal of "concern for the Polish nationality". More recently, Wehler claimed that "there can be no doubt that in the years between 1815 and 1830 the Province developed most strongly, and the

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<sup>5</sup>Manfred Laubert, Studien zur Geschichte der Provinz Posen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Posen: Oskar Eulitz Verlag, 1908), p. 4.



King's promise, namely equality of nationality, religion, and language, had been kept".<sup>6</sup> Gumpert, too, argued that until 1831 "the Poles had their own educational system, and there is no basis for speaking of germanization in the schools".<sup>7</sup> He quoted the Minister von Altenstein who on December 13, 1823 decreed,

As far as the expansion of the German language is concerned, one has to clarify in the first place, what is feasible and what is desirable. The question is whether the aim should be to enable the Polish population to understand German, or to germanize the whole nation gradually and imperceptibly, but nonetheless as completely as possible. In the view of the present Minister the former alone is needed, advisable, and practicable . . . . It is in the best interest of the government if the German language becomes a subject of instruction in the Polish schools, with the objective of making the students competent in its usage before they leave school.

Wessely, although he would not call the respective measures germanization, but the "intention to educate loyal citizens", admitted that Prussia created great inconvenience for the Polish schools".<sup>8</sup>

The report of the International-Law-Commission (Voelkerrechtlicher Ausschuss) of the Frankfurt-Parliament, however, stated that particularly after 1831 Prussia began to implement plans of germanization, and specific reference was made to the purchase of Polish estates by a great number of German settlers.<sup>9</sup> The inflexible application of Prussian

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<sup>6</sup>Hans Ulrich Wehler, Sozialdemokratie und Nationalstaat (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), p. 103.

<sup>7</sup>Jobst Gumpert, Polen--Deutschland (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 1966), pp. 122-23.

<sup>8</sup>Kurt Wessely, Pangermanismus (Linz/Donau: Zeitgeschichte-Verlag Ernst Seidl, 1938), p. 86.

<sup>9</sup>Posener Zeitung, no. 169, July 23, 1848, Supplement.



administrative principles meant an additional infringement of traditional customs and institutions of the Poles.

In the light of the present study it appears that at least with respect to the secondary schools of the Grand Duchy the problem of germanization existed right from the beginning of Prussian rule. Not only was the term used by von Hardenberg after the Vienna Congress when he suggested that Prussia should only accept a portion of the Polish territory that she could germanize, but also Kaulfuss pressed strongly for respective instructions as early as 1822. And although von Altenstein's statement of 1823 officially refuted the claim for stronger German influences, his language-instruction of 1825 which introduced German as the language of instruction for the upper grades of the gymnasia, was clearly in conflict with his former contention that in Polish schools German should be a subject of instruction. Also the fact that further restrictions for the use of Polish in 1834 were introduced while he was still Minister of Education, strongly suggest that the pronouncement of political principles on one hand, and political reality on the other, did not coincide.

Similar observations could be made with regard to the curricula for history, language, and religion, but also with respect to the policies of employment of teachers, principals, and members of the Provincial Education Commission; whereas some balance between Polish and German teachers could be observed, there was a clear preference for German individuals at the higher levels of the administrative hierarchy.

The repeatedly voiced argument that what at face value looked like germanization was actually only a counter-measure against the polo-



nization of German students deserves some comments as well. Both concepts are obviously interdependent, and one major reason for the emergence of polonization-movements was certainly the polarization of the Polish and German segments of the population and their areas of settlement. 'Polish' townships became increasingly more Polish during the years as the new German settlers reinforced the German character of the 'German' townships. The city of Posen, for example, by 1848 had only one third Polish inhabitants, although it was practically surrounded by townships with a predominantly Catholic/Polish population. The effects could also be felt in secondary schools where the policy of establishing Catholic/Polish schools and Protestant/German institutions aggravated rather than alleviated the problems of nationality.

The shift in the concept of germanization finds an additional explanation if one looks at the anthropological theories and ethnic studies as they began to develop in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Herder and W. v. Humboldt were among the founders of the Voelkerpsychologie, and the idea of the Volksgeist apparently formed one of the underlying concepts. In anthropological terms, Volksgeist manifested itself in language, mythology, religion, art, customs, law, folklore, etc., and was creator as well as product of societal psychic processes, thereby characterizing given ethnic groups. Especially Herder has been criticized for a certain pro-German bias in his views on ethnic characteristics<sup>10</sup>, and this criticism applies even more strongly to G. Klemm whose ten-volume culture-history of mankind (1843) viewed humanity

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<sup>10</sup>Eno Beuchelt, Ideengeschichte der Voelkerpsychologie (Meisenheim/Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1974), p. 11.





as being divided into 'active' and 'passive' races. Needless to say that the Germanic races were the highest form of the 'active' category, whereas, among others, the 'lower classes of Europe' were considered 'passive'.<sup>11</sup> The impact of those ethnic biases was apparently widespread, and, according to Rosenthal, "a mosaic of reasons was developed in official circles, which explained why the Poles should be considered merely as objects and never as initiators".<sup>12</sup> As a pendant to Klemm's study, Arndt's book of 1843 Versuch in vergleichender Voelkergeschichte portrayed Polish history as being "characterized from beginning to end by levity, frivolity, wildness, and disorder; . . . Why has God created such peoples as the Irish and Poles who remain forever minors?". His treatise Polenlaerm und Polenbegeisterung (1848) in which he claimed that world history had demonstrated the fact that the Poles were less worthy than the Germans, was given official approval in that the book was recommended for distribution.<sup>13</sup> The previously discussed essay by the teacher of the Gymnasium of Lissa, Duetschke, on the characteristics of a German national literature, based on an idealized German national character, is just one example of how these anthropological views were translated into educational practice.

#### (d) Secondary Schools as Agencies of Political Socialization

In its widest sense, germanization became synonymous with the inculcation of German cultural values, and part of this acculturation

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<sup>11</sup>Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), pp. 101-02.

<sup>12</sup>Harry Kenneth Rosenthal, "The Prussian View of the Pole", The Polish Review, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Winter 1972, pp. 14-16.

<sup>13</sup>Rosenthal, "Prussian View of the Pole", p. 16.



process was the introduction of the students into the dominant political culture. Differentiating between these two aspects allows to view political socialization as an isolated process and thereby to analyze it at least momentarily without recourse to broader cultural issues. And whereas germanization was a pervasive element of school-life, there appear to have been some inconsistencies and various 'breaks' in the direction as well as in the intensity of political socialization.

Not only was the romantic spirit prevalent during the first decades of the nineteenth century in generally intellectual terms, but especially in education could the influence of Rousseau and Pestalozzi be felt in German educational thought, as far as the place of education in relation to society and the state was concerned. While the neo-humanist reformers had initially endorsed ideas that placed the individual above the state, and that viewed education as serving society rather than the state, a greater interest of the state in education became quite obvious even before 1824. The politicization of education by means of de-politicizing the gymnasia and the universities can, however, also be seen from a slightly different perspective. As Koselleck argues, it was the inability of the state to solve the socio-economic problems of its time that gradually led to the divorce of state and society;<sup>14</sup> and whereas economic liberalism increasingly determined the course of social developments, the state focused much of its activities on the field of education in the sense of making it subservient to its own perceived needs. The correlation of the state's interests with

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<sup>14</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, "Staat und Gesellschaft in Preussen" in Werner Conze (ed.), Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz, 1815-1848 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1962), p. 107.



those of the liberals was particularly strong in the area of law and order, and here the aforementioned principles of philosophical liberalism could also be found in the pronouncements of the state-authorities in the Grand Duchy: Abstinence from political activities, especially from radical and democratic movements such as the Burschenschaften and the Liga Polska, but also emphasis on obedience and respect for the authorities, a deep and trustful religiosity, dedication to science and a scholarly spirit, as well as cleanliness and punctuality, formed the code of moral conduct that students (and teachers) were admonished to follow. The indirect support given to the principal of the Bromberg-school, Deinhardt, perhaps best illustrates the closeness of middle-class values with the political objectives of the educational administration.

The fact that liberalism in the Grand Duchy was first of all Prusso-German liberalism, the same as the well-to-do middle class was primarily a Prusso-German middle class, helps to explain the continued resistance of that segment of the Polish population that was the nucleus of a new Polish middle class. It also facilitates an understanding of why the activities of the Marcinkowski Association were increasingly looked upon with suspicion by some Prussian groups.

One of the previously mentioned inconsistencies with regard to political socialization can be suggested for the Flottwell-era: The policy of curbing the influence of the Polish aristocracy by means of favouring the lower social classes was reflected in secondary education by an expansion of educational facilities which, aside from strengthening the German element, was fully taken advantage of by the Polish population; seen from this perspective, Flottwell's support for the Marcinkowski





Association appears to have followed the same rationale. But the effects that those measures were obviously expected to have were 'converted' by Polish national leaders into support for their cause, and the increasing Polish/Catholic enrolment-figures in the 1840's, with all the consequences for the national conflict in the Grand Duchy, can thus be perceived as a direct consequence of Flottwell's educational policies.

However, certain qualifications are necessary at this point. The expansion of secondary education was presumably not intended to attract the 'lower class' in the modern sense, although a considerable influx of students from the lower socio-economic groups has been suggested by the data available. Prussian educational thought assigned those social strata to the elementary schools only, where a basic educational programme was deemed sufficient to prepare them for their stations in life. Too much knowledge was thought to impede a deep love for God, King, and Fatherland, and statements such as,

the slaves have been excluded from education throughout time; but now we see before us, instead of herds of slaves and serfs, the same herds of free proletarians who are as little capable of education as were the helots and penasts of Antiquity, or the de-humanized blacks in some North-American states,<sup>15</sup>

aptly express the socio-political conservatism that existed among some segments of Prussian society: The class distinctions of proletariat, bourgeoisie, and nobility should also be reflected in the educational system, where the students of the general school (Volksschule) were

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<sup>15</sup>Quoted from W. Goette, Vorschule der Politik, Leipzig, 1840, in P.M. Roeder, Erziehung und Gesellschaft (Weinheim: Verlag Julius Beltz, 1968), p. 199.





conditioned rather than educated.

Despite Roeder's claim that Goette's suggestions of curing the sick civic-capitalistic society by means of an authoritarian state were already obsolete when they were published in 1840, Frederick William IV still adhered to the very same ideas in his address to the teachers of the teacher-training seminaries in Berlin in 1849:

You and you alone are to be blamed for all the misery which the last year has brought upon Prussia! The irreligious pseudo-education of the masses is to be blamed for it, which you have been spreading under the name of true wisdom, and by which you have eradicated religious belief and loyalty from the hearts of my subjects, and alienated their affections from my person. This sham education, strutting about like a peacock, has always been odious to me. I hated it already from the bottom of my soul before I came to the throne, and since my accession I have done everything to suppress it. I am determined to proceed on this path, without taking heed of any one, and indeed, no power on earth shall divert me from it.<sup>16</sup>

The relevance for the political socialization of the Grand Duchy's high-school students lies in the promotion of elitism and feelings of social distinctiveness. But here again, political socialization proved to be a double-edged sword: On one hand, the schools' socio-political mandate appears to have had its effects on many German students of mostly upper and middle-class background in that they were bound to realize sooner or later their dependence on the state's authority and power, but also their reliance on the social order that was founded in economic liberalism,<sup>17</sup> as far as their future careers and positions were concerned.

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<sup>16</sup>Friedrich Paulsen, German Education (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 245.

<sup>17</sup>The interdependence of economic liberalism and the state's authorities was evident when during the Flottwell-era the government provided one million Thalers for buying Polish estates and selling them to German landowners and settlers. Although only some thirty German landowners could thereby be induced to settle in the Grand Duchy, many more farmers and landholders subsequently bought land in the province without such financial support by the government. Cf. Gumpert, Polen--Deutschland, p. 128.



On the other hand, Polish students, backed by the Catholic Church, would question not only the principles of liberalism of Prussian vintage, but equally resent the amount of power claimed by the state.

It appears, though, that some of the ideas on a new relationship between education, society, and the state, as they began to develop during the 1840's, and as they were envisaged by Dahlmann, von Mohl, and L. v. Stein, had been incorporated into Polish social thought through people like Wronski-Hoene, Kremer, Libelt, and Trentowski, just to name a few of them; here the 'French connection' might have proven its worth. Whereas Dahlmann saw the worth of education for society and the state still within the parameters of the organicist paradigm, von Mohl and more so Lorenz von Stein contended that the individual was not a means for the state, but the state should be a means for the ends of the citizen. Especially von Stein recognized the antagonism between the various social classes, and he regarded it the state's obligation to remedy social injustices by means of the educational system. The interdependence of education and property forms the centrepiece in Stein's argument, in that education was expected to provide every individual with the means to acquire property, without which active participation in society and in the state is impeded. On the other hand, property confers on the individual independence within the social division of labour, and thereby forms the prerequisite for individual freedom and equality.

However, von Stein's analysis of the state's responsibility for education did not affect Prussian political or educational practice at the time, and through his influence on Marx were his ideas revived and expanded in years to come.



(e) The secondary schools' curricula as means of social and political control

Repeated reference has been made in previous chapters to the sociology of knowledge, i.e. to the criteria by which knowledge is selected, organized and assessed by a given society. Socialization as such, but also political socialization in particular, virtually depend on the selection of the 'right' curricula, and it is therefore that the inclusion of some more comments in the final chapter appears to be warranted.

When Young speaks of 'stratification of knowledge', he implies that the components or rather the determinants of stratification, namely property, prestige, and power (or control) can be analyzed in very much the same way as in social stratification in general. This contention appears to provide a useful model for the present discussion, since Prussian education and its transfer to the Grand Duchy exemplifies the distinction between 'high-value' and 'low-value' knowledge. Without going into a detailed presentation of related issues raised by Young, the following conclusions can be suggested with regard to the present study: Firstly, the property-aspect of knowledge is closely related to the reward-structure. In other words, the knowledge transmitted and acquired in the secondary schools becomes the 'private property' of the individual student, contrary to a more 'shared property' as one would find in elementary education. The difference between the two becomes clear when the rewards are considered which accrue from 'possessing' academic knowledge: With the Abitur as the screening-device for certifying this 'property', the student was admitted into higher studies where this 'property' began to show its real material value. It was particularly the consolidation of secondary schools into basically two types, the reduction



of the number of the respective schools, and the restrictions introduced for private instruction on the secondary level, that helped to define the property-aspect of the knowledge transmitted.

The second aspect, namely the prestige-component, has already been mentioned previously. The more restricted 'high-value' knowledge becomes in terms of types of schools where this knowledge can be acquired, and the more the rewards accruing from the possession of this knowledge exclude those who 'did not make it', the higher will be the prestige that goes along with having mastered the high-school programme. The impact that this aspect had on elitism and social distinctiveness is obvious. The prestige-component not only militated against the Realschule and 'commonsense-knowledge', but also against Polish social objectives in education, as, for instance, endorsed by the Marcinkowski Association.

One of the consequences was that by means of the prescribed curricula a great deal of social control could be exercised which, particularly under the circumstances existing in the Grand Duchy, also meant political control. The rewards to be granted, i.e., the decision over, and the definition of, 'success' and 'failure' depended on the fulfillment of the requirements stipulated by Prussian officials from outside the province. Those requirements could easily be changed to control the schools' 'output'. In this respect, the various shifts in language-policies provide conclusive examples. Closely related to rewards is the opportunity-structure for future employment. Here the aspiration-level of the Abiturienten has provided some important insights in that significant differences could be observed between German/Protestant, Polish/Catholic, and Jewish students. It was without any doubt the first of the three groups that felt encouraged to join





the ranks of the government through the study of law and state law, whereas the other two groups preferred courses of study that were also prestigious, but offered fewer prospects of decision-making and of exercising power and control. Interestingly enough, the same limitations were experienced by German/Protestant graduates from the Realschule who had to be content with acquiring 'low-value' knowledge.

Similar conclusions can be reached if the findings of the present study are related to the model as it has been developed by Bernstein.<sup>18</sup> Here again, only a brief outline of the model itself can be offered in the present context, and the discussion will focus on what he called the 'collection code' of educational knowledge, since Prussian education would fit into this category. In Bernstein's view, knowledge is transmitted through three 'message systems', namely curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. Looking at the curriculum first, the gymnasia in particular represented the 'collection code' in that "the learner has to collect a group of favoured contents in order to satisfy some criteria of evaluation". The underlying concept of the curricula and thereby of the 'collection' was obviously the classically educated man as the educational objective of the gymnasium, and the academically-trained, skilled citizen with regard to the Realschule. In both cases was the classification of knowledge, i.e., the boundary maintenance between different curricula (e.g. Polish and German, or history and mathematics) very strong. Additionally, the 'frame' was strong as well,

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<sup>18</sup>Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge", Michael F.D. Young (ed.) Knowledge and Control (London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971), pp. 47-69.



i.e., the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students was well-defined by boundaries that had to be maintained, and neither teachers nor students had much 'input' into what was to be transmitted in this relationship.

The effects on socialization were profound. First, a membership category was established early in the educational career in terms of an early choice between the 'pure' and the 'applied', between having and not having a specific educational identity. Here the differences between the gymnasia and the Realschule spring to mind, and the introduction of preparatory classes appears to have aimed at developing an 'educational identity' as early as possible. Second, any attempt to weaken or change classification strength may be felt as a threat to that 'identity' and be experienced as a pollution endangering the sacred. This contention seems to apply to the strong classification regarding the Polish and German languages where both nationalities actually considered infringements as a 'pollution'. Similarly, the resistance on the part of the gymnasia against equal status of the Realschule has to be evaluated from this perspective. Third, any collection code involves an hierarchical organization of knowledge, and the ultimate mystery of the subject is revealed very late in the educational life. In other words, the 'full' knowledge is only achieved in the final grade in which all the 'secrets' are revealed, with the Abitur forming the apex, and the Abituraufsatz the test whether or not the socialization-process has been successful. Fourth, discipline means the acceptance of a given selection, organization, pacing, and timing of knowledge, as realized within the established pedagogical frame. Here Bernstein



deserves to be quoted in full:

Knowledge thus tends to be transmitted, particularly to elite pupils at the secondary level, through strong frames which control the selecting, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge. The receipt of the knowledge is not so much a right as something to be won or earned. The stronger the classification and framing, the more the educational relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized and the pupil seen as ignorant, with little status and few rights.<sup>19</sup>

The characterization of the collection-code of educational knowledge also applies to the present discussion with respect to what Bernstein calls 'uncommonsense knowledge', i.e., knowledge that has been 'freed' from the particular and the local. It appears to be justified to identify the classical thrust of the gymnasias's curricula and their thrust on timeless, universal values and their insistence on non-practicality, with this 'uncommonsense knowledge', in contradistinction to 'commonsense knowledge', having its focus more strongly on everyday realities. The Polish approach to secondary education after 1773, but also the Realschul-movement can well be considered to have differed from the 'classical' approach in Prussian secondary schools especially in this respect. Conversely, the developments in Prussia introduced under the Minister Eichhorn seem to have tended towards more 'commonsense knowledge'.

In sum, Bernstein's model of the collection code of knowledge appears to be well-suited to explain the functions of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation in Prussian education for the socialization process of the students of the Grand Duchy as it has been presented in the present study: Social order and control did actually arise out of the

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<sup>19</sup>Bernstein, "Classification and Framing", pp. 57-58.



hierarchical nature of authority relationships, out of the systematic organization of differentiated knowledge in space and time, and out of an explicit and predictable examining procedure. The implications for the problem of nationalism and education in the present context point beyond Bernstein's purely sociological model. First, the collection code with its strong boundary maintenance is grounded in a strong ideological basis or what Bernstein calls "a condensed symbolic system"; the symbols upheld to the Grand Duchy's secondary schools were 'Nation', 'State', and 'King'. Second, the strong classification in the examined curricula of history, religion, literature, and language meant in practical terms that the boundaries between prescribed contents were rigid in the sense that Prusso-German materials were highly favoured over Polish materials. Third, the same applies to the frame in which knowledge was to be transmitted: Not only was the freedom of choice for the individual teacher and the students greatly restricted or totally lacking, as could most vividly be demonstrated in the discussion of the use of library facilities and in the admonitions by the Provincial Education Commission provided in the letter of November 1826 (cf. Appendix D). The same shift towards the 'condensed symbolic system' could also be witnessed in the area of evaluation, i.e., in the Abitur and the Abituraufsaetze (cf. Appendix C). Finally, the collection code in principle permits the teachers to hold a range of ideologies because conflicts can be assumed to be limited due to the strong classification in that they could be contained within the various insulated hierarchies. For this reason the working side-by-side of German and Polish teachers was acceptable as long as their primary loyalty was to their subject-area rather





than to broader, i.e. subject-transcending socio-political issues. The pressure on the teachers to excel in their professional qualification and performance, and to refrain from political activities, e.g. attend the meetings of the Liga Polska or assist the Marcinkowski Association, point in this direction. Conversely, their desired orientation towards the 'condensed symbol system', whether promoted and encouraged by recurrent admonitions or pledges of allegiance, by threats of disciplinary measures or laudatory comments, would secure that conflicts were contained within the educational system. Only in later years, namely after 1846, were legal actions deemed necessary in order to curb the proliferation of conflicting ideologies among the teaching-staff.

(f) The Secondary Schools under the Impact of Nationalism

Utilization of institutionalized education for establishing social and political control does not in itself imply that forces of nationalism are at work. Conversely, the establishment of educational institutions and their control by the state appears to facilitate the dissemination of nationalist doctrines. The relevance of the present study for the examination of nationalism and education lies in the fact that the Prussian state, once it had begun to endorse the cause of cultural nationalism, increasingly encouraged the secondary school of the Grand Duchy to develop a posture of militant ethnocentrism. The concluding discussion will attempt to bring this aspect into focus again.

The stipulative definition of nationalism given in the first chapter has to be recalled: 'Nationalism is a form of group-loyalty and thus a psychological phenomenon or 'state of mind', with the supreme allegiance of the individual focusing on the nation, i.e., a community



of people sharing the same territory, language, history, law, traditions, and, to some degree at least, the same religion. The assumed communality of interest is psychologically reinforced by emphasizing common character-traits and ideals'. The Prussian state was not a nation-state. Instead, its character during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can best be described as authoritarian (Obrigkeitsstaat) with strong paternalistic features. Nationalistic tendencies as they were espoused by Fichte, Jahn, and Arndt during and after the Wars of Liberation did not form part of the schools' orientation. Primary concern was given to the endeavour of educating loyal citizens, and the transfer of educational thought and institutions was first of all attempting to homogenize secondary education throughout the Monarchy. The supreme loyalty of the students belonged to the state.

However, at about the same time, i.e., during the 1810's and early 1820's, nationalism as a nation-building force became a formidable concern among some segments of the Prussian population. The idea of German unity, initially voiced in romantic-political terms, as, for example, by the Burschenschaften, began to coincide with economic interests. Here the development of tariff-unions, but also the expansion of the railroad-system may exemplify the trend. Prussia as the most dynamic German state in this respect provided for the required leadership, and from now on a stronger fusion of movements aiming at political and economic unity could be observed. As has been argued before, economic liberalism rather than the state as such defined socio-political objectives, but since the state had assumed responsibility for education, there existed a time-lag between the emergence of liberalism as a new political force, and the reflection of the respective political doctrines



in education. In the Grand Duchy's secondary schools, this development may explain the very gradual process of shifting the students' loyalties from the state to the nation. A first unmistakable manifestation of the effected change was the armed confrontation of the two national groups in 1848/49, with the students becoming involved in the political strife to a considerable degree.

Another aspect also deserves mentioning in this context. As the data for the German students during the 1815-1850 period suggest, there was a greater influx into the secondary schools by students of a 'higher' socio-economic family-background, as compared to their Polish fellow-students. In other words, the government's policy of land-acquisition obviously favoured new settlers of upper-middle and upper-class origin who by acquiring property in the Grand Duchy established not only a strong interest in the Grand Duchy's future, but also became the most vocal (and influential) representatives of the German population. The repeated demands by those German groups to close the Marien-Gymnasium seem to bear out this contention. Additionally, their stance taken during the discussion of the province's political reorganization is a clear indication that property-interests were identified with national interests.

But the growth of German nationalism in the Grand Duchy forms only part of the overall picture. The hold of the landed aristocracy over the Polish population seems to have declined markedly after the uprisings of 1830/31 and 1846. Instead, the policy of 'organic work' found growing support, and here the activities of the Marcinkowski Association are representative of a new interest-group in Polish political life. The incipient bourgeois transformation, however, was



promoted as well as impeded by the fact that it happened within the confines of the Prussian Monarchy. On one hand, the more advanced level of industrialization in Prussia did not fail in the long run to exercise a stimulating influence on the Grand Duchy's economic development, at least with respect to agricultural production. On the other hand, specific Polish national concerns, such as greater language-rights, more consideration for Polish cultural traditions in education, and a return to self-administration, could not successfully be pursued under the given political circumstances. The growing discontent and frustration can be considered to have been at the bottom of the rise of Polish nationalism as it developed in reaction to Prussian rule. Political involvement of larger segments of Polish society in the 1840's, as, for instance, in Ostrowo and Posen, points at the changing concept of the Polish 'nation' during the period under discussion.

By the late 1840's the state was rigidly curbing dissent in the secondary schools. The educational administration used its power as the employer of teachers and as the state authority for students to discourage and penalize political activism in favour of Polish national aspirations. In lending its support to those Prussian circles who pressed for an unwaivering national stance in the 'Polish Question', the state had accepted a new mandate which had been formulated most succinctly as early as 1841. An article entitled Unser Unterrichtswesen im Verhaeltnis zur Nationalitaet (Our educational system and the issue of nationality)<sup>20</sup> used the spectre of the "progression of the Slavs, a

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<sup>20</sup>"Unser Unterrichtswesen im Verhaeltnis zur Nationalitaet", in Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift, 1841, pp. 126-48.





silent, terrible power" towards the West to urge the educational authorities into promoting a spirit of "vital and determined nationality". Religion, history, language, national literature, and physical education were regarded the most effective means towards this end. "Thoroughness and depth, moral consciousness and modesty, loyalty and truthfulness, combined with deep religiosity" were considered the salient national characteristics of the German people, and they deserved to be preserved.

The discussion of all these aspects has formed part of the present study. The fact that in the aforementioned subjects Prusso-German content was favoured over Polish content, and the fact that particularly in these areas opposition by Polish teachers, students, and parents was most pronounced, indicates the relevance of those subjects for developing a national identity. The new dimension introduced, however, was the insistence in the article on racial antagonism. Here the groundwork had been laid by the Voelkerpsychologie of the early nineteenth century. Secondary education in the Grand Duchy during the years 1815-1850 did not reflect those racial overtones directly. Throughout the 35-year period was the distinction between Polish and German, or Catholic and Protestant a clearly perceived dividing-line, but it was only during the 1830's and 1840's that conflicts between German and Polish students occurred. What had formerly been a difference in nationality, had now become a matter of national antagonism.

The discussion of nationalism and education in the Grand Duchy during the years 1815-1850 has shown how the secondary schools became involved in the national conflict that lasted for another seven decades. If one final conclusion can be ventured, it is the comparatively sub-



ordinate role that the schools played in the emergence of nationalism; rather were they effective instruments, used for fostering this 'state of mind' that is required for nationalism. Thus the schools formed an indispensable, albeit marginal part of the entire socio-political and socio-economic network which forms the basis for nationalist movements.



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## APPENDIX A

### Teachers Employed by the Secondary Schools 1815 - 1850

#### Marien-Gymnasium

- (1) Dr. J.S. Kaulfuss became principal in 1815, after he had studied at the University of Halle and received his doctorate there in 1803. He had joined the school in 1804, and for his publications on the Polish language was elected a member of the Association of the Friends of Science in Warsaw. While he was in office, the school grew quantitatively and qualitatively. Due to political circumstances he was transferred to the Gymnasium of Neustettin (Pomerania) in 1824. He died there in 1832.
- (2) Gralichowski was employed at the school from 1815 to 1816.
- (3) Liszkowski was employed at the school from 1815-1824.
- (4) Dr. Bernd taught Latin, Greek, and German from 1815-1818. Difficulties with his students and with his colleagues resulted in his voluntary transfer.
- (5) Bornemann was employed at the school from 1815-1818, and he afterwards became a member of the Provincial Education Commission (Konsistorial- und Schulrat).
- (6) Szumski became a teacher at the school shortly after 1807.
- (7) Antoszewski taught at the school from about 1807 to 1820 (?)
- (8) Brodziszewski joined the Gymnasium in 1813.
- (9) J.V. Cassius, born in Lublin, taught at the school from 1813 to 1824, when he was dismissed for political reasons.
- (10) J. Motty was born in Paris in 1790, moved to Posen in 1806, and joined the school in 1812. Here he published several textbooks on Botany, in both German and Polish; but he also wrote a history of French literature. He died in Posen in 1856.
- (11) Fischer taught at the school from 1816-1836.
- (12) Dr. Gerhard was employed from 1816 to 1817.



- (13) Zoellner taught at the school in 1816 to 1817.
- (14) Czwalina was employed at the Gymnasium from 1817 to 1844.
- (15) Semrau was a teacher in 1817.
- (16) Scigalski was employed at the school from 1817-1834.
- (17) J. Trojanski was born in Lublin in 1796, studied at Cracow University and in Breslau, where he received his doctorate in 1819. He joined the school the same year. Among his publications were a Latin grammar-book, and Polish-German dictionaries. In 1828 he was appointed Professor for Roman Literature at the University of Cracow, where he died in 1850.
- (18) J. Muszkowski was born in 1795 near Lublin. He attended school there and studied at Cracow university. In 1819 he joined the school at Posen where he published a Polish grammar-book. When he was appointed Professor of Bibliography and Head Librarian at the University of Cracow in 1828 he left Posen; there is some indication that difficulties with the authorities prompted him to be relieved from his duties at the Gymnasium. He died in 1858.
- (19) J.F. Krolikowski came to Posen from Warsaw in 1820. In 1830 he apparently resigned for political reasons. He had published on Polish literature and had even exercised an influence on Adam Mickiewicz. In 1839 he died in Warsaw at the age of 56.
- (20) M.J. Schottky was born in Upper Silesia and studied law at Breslau University. He then studied ancient literature in Vienna. From 1822 until 1824 he taught at the school and was transferred to another school.
- (21) Dr. F. Jacob was of Protestant denomination, born in 1811. He had been teaching in Magdeburg and Koenigsberg before he came to Posen in 1825. From 1829 to 1831 he was academic director of the school, and was appointed principal of the Gymnasium of Erfurt in 1832.
- (22) Dr. Martin was of Protestant denomination. He joined the school in 1825 after he had been teaching at the Gymnasium of Halberstadt. In 1834 he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.
- (23) Dr. Mueller, Protestant, taught at the Gymnasium from 1825 to 1834, when he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium. When he was invited to teach at the Marien-Gymnasium, he even declined an offer to teach at the University of Rostock as Professor for German Language and Literature. In later years he was also editor of the Posener Zeitung.



- (24) Dr. Benecke, Protestant, joined the Gymnasium in 1825; he had previously been a teacher at the Paedagogium in Magdeburg. He was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in 1834.
- (25) A. Poplinski, a former student of the Marien-Gymnasium, became a teacher at the school in 1825, after he had been employed at the district-school of Fraustadt. He was the author of a Universal History for the Polish Youth.
- (26) M. Braun was born in the Grand Duchy and became a teaching-candidate (Lehramtsanwaerter) probably in 1825. In 1830 he participated in the uprising in the Kingdom of Poland, which terminated his employment.
- (27) J. Schoenborn was of Protestant denomination and joined the school as a teaching-candidate in 1825. In 1834 he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.
- (28) Dr. Starke was a teaching-candidate, probably in 1825.
- (29) M. Stoc was appointed acting principal in 1826, and full principal in 1829. After the dissolution and reformation of the school in 1834 he retained his position until his retirement in 1842. He died in 1851.
- (30) Dr. Wendt had been a teacher in Berlin; he replaced Dr. Jacob as academic director from 1832 to 1834 when he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.
- (31) Cichowicz, a former student of the Gymnasium, had studied in Breslau before he became a teacher from 1828 to 1843.
- (32) Loga was employed at the school from 1828 to 1831.
- (33) Wroblewski was a teacher of the Gymnasium from 1831 to 1832.
- (34) Nepilly came to the school from Breslau in 1831, and was transferred in 1833.
- (35) Monski was of Protestant denomination, and was born in the Grand Duchy. He attended school in Breslau where he also studied theology and philology. In 1832 he became a teacher in Posen and later taught at several other schools in the Grand Duchy.
- (36) Dr. A. Lozynski was of Catholic denomination, and was born in Culm in 1808. After attending school in Culm and Braunsberg, he studied at the universities of Koenigsberg and Bonn before he joined the Gymnasium in 1832. He was transferred to the Catholic Gymnasium of Culm in 1837.
- (37) Wieruszewski taught at the school from 1832 to 1834.





- (38) Ottara (or Ottawa) was a teacher in 1833.
- (39) Gladisch taught at the school from 1832 to 1844; he later became the principal of the Realschule Krotoschin.
- (40) Czarnecki was a teacher in 1833, then taught for some years at Krotoschin, and re-joined the Gymnasium in 1845.
- (41) Felsch taught at the Gymnasium in 1833.
- (42) Dr. Loew was born at Weissenfels in 1807 as the son of a Government Councilor. After attending the Klosterschule Rossleben he studied at Halle University and then taught at several high-schools in Berlin before he came to Posen in 1833. In subsequent years he taught also at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and at Meseritz.
- (43) A. von Wannowski was born in 1801 at Dabrowa and attended school in Bialystok and Koenigsberg where he also studied philology. After his state exam he became a teacher at Rastenburg, and in 1829 he replaced Trojanski as the teacher for the classical languages until 1869. On the occasion of his retirement he was decorated with a royal medal, and students of all denominations honoured him. For some years he was the editor of the Polish section of the Posener Zeitung.
- (44) Von Buchowski was born in 1783 in Poland, studied at Koenigsberg University and became an army officer. He joined the school in 1812 and succeeded Kaulfuss as acting principal from 1824 to 1829. He died in 1842.
- (45) Lechner was employed at the school from 1834 to 1847.
- (46) Preiss was employed at the school from 1833 to 1834.
- (47) Michler taught at the school from 1835 to 1837.
- (48) Kidaszewski was born in 1801 in the Grand Duchy, attended the Marien-Gymnasium and studied in Breslau. He became a preacher after 1837.
- (49) Dr. Prabucki was born near Stargard, attended school in Conitz, and studied philology at Breslau University; additional subjects were philosophy, theology, history and mathematics. He joined the Gymnasium in 1835 and became its principal from 1842 to 1846.
- (50) T. Rabuske, Catholic, was born in Berlin in 1813, where he also studied at the Academy of Arts after he had been a student at the Joachimsthal Gymnasium. He came to Posen in 1836 and taught at the school until 1846.
- (51) Dr. F. Hoffmann was born in Silesia and attended school at the



Ritterakademie Liegnitz. He studied in Breslau, Leipzig, and Berlin philology and philosophy. After he had been a teacher at the Joachimsthal Gymnasium in Berlin he joined the Gymnasium from 1836 until 1846.

- (52) Spiller was a teacher at the Catholic Gymnasium of Glogau before he came to Posen in 1837. He retired (?) in 1861.
- (53) Januskowski was a teacher in Posen from 1837 to 1844, when he was transferred to Bromberg.
- (54) Rodowicz taught at the school from 1837 to 1838 and was then transferred to the district-school of Krotoschin.
- (55) Figurski taught at the Gymnasium from 1838 to 1869.
- (56) Dr. Ogienski came from Ratibor/Silesia in 1839. He was transferred to the Gymnasium of Tremessen.
- (57) Rother was a teacher of the school in 1839 (?).
- (58) Ahner was employed from 1839 to 1840.
- (59) Schweminski joined the teaching-staff in 1839 and was for many years teacher for Latin and German.
- (60) Dr. Cegielski taught at the school from 1840 to 1846.
- (61) Karwowski was teaching in Posen from 1840 to 1846 and was transferred to Lissa.
- (62) W. Schoenborn joined the school in 1840.
- (63) Hebanowski was employed from 1840 to 1846.
- (64) Dr. Bronikowski was employed from 1842 to 1846.
- (65) Dr. Gruszczyński taught at the Gymnasium from 1842 to 1846, and again from 1849 to 1854.
- (66) Dr. Motty taught at the Gymnasium from 1843 to 1846 and from 1849 to 1853. He is most likely not identical with J. Motty (cf. #10).
- (67) Dr. M. Kolanowski was employed from 1843 to 1844.
- (68) Szulc joined the Gymnasium in 1844 and again in 1847, coming from the Gymnasium of Tremessen.
- (69) Nowakowski taught at the Gymnasium from 1844 to 1848.
- (70) Dr. Prusinowski was employed from 1844 to 1846.



- (71) Dr. Morowski was a teacher in Posen in 1844 and was then transferred to Ostrowo.
- (72) Dr. Malecki taught at the Gymnasium from 1845 to 1850 and then became a professor at the University of Cracow.
- (73) Dr. Szafarkiewicz was employed from 1845 to 1853.
- (74) Dr. H.A. Brettner was born near Beuthen/Upper Silesia in 1799, attended the Matthias-Gymnasium in Breslau, and also studied in Breslau mathematics and natural sciences. After he had been a house-teacher in the home of Field Marshal Count York von Wartenberg, he began to teach at the Gymnasium of Gleiwitz. The textbooks he wrote on mathematics, physics, etc., were translated into French, English, Polish, and Dutch. In 1838 he became a teacher at the Matthias-Gymnasium and was appointed member of the Scientific Deputation (Wissenschaftliche Pruefungskommission) of the University of Breslau. As a member of the Provincial Education Commission he came to Posen in 1843, and in 1846 was appointed principal of the Gymnasium.
- (75) Dr. Steiner taught at the school from 1846 on.
- (76) Dr. Dzialek was employed in 1846.
- (77) Dr. Hepke taught at the school from 1846 to 1848 when he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.
- (78) Laskowski joined the teaching-staff in 1847, coming from the Burgher-School of Posen.
- (79) Klossowski was a teacher in 1847 and again in 1864 and after.
- (80) Kmita taught at the Gymnasium in 1848.
- (81) Dr. Ustymowicz joined the school in 1848.
- (82) Wojciechowski was a member of the teaching-staff from 1848 to 1855.
- (83) S. Weclewski taught at the Gymnasium from 1848-63.
- (84) Dr. Rymarkiewicz joined the Gymnasium in 1848 in exchange for Dr. Helpke. He was for some years editor of the Polish section of the Posener Zeitung.
- (85) St. Weclewski was a teacher in Posen from 1849 to 1850.
- (86) Berwinski was employed from 1849 to 1853.
- (87) Kielczynski taught at the Gymnasium from 1850 to 1851.
- (88) Palmoswki was employed from 1850 to 1854.



- (89) Dr. Mielewski taught at the school from 1850 to 1853. He was Dr. Brettner's assistant.
- (90) Cichowski was a former student of the Gymnasium and joined the teaching-staff in 1828, after he had studied in Breslau.
- (91) Perdisch was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in 1834.
- (92) Kosicki was born in Cracow and was a teacher of the school in 1819 (?)
- (93) Chichanski joined the school in 1819 (?) coming from the Kingdom of Poland.
- (94) Macinkowski (no data available)
- (95) Dulinski (no data available)

#### Gymnasium of Bromberg

- (1) L.N.F. Mueller was born in 1773 near Gotha. Before he became principal, he had been a supervisor at the Paedagogium of Zuellichau. In 1844 he retired and died in 1848.
- (2) Dr. Kalau was the principal of the Gymnasium of Frankfurt/O. before he came to Bromberg in 1817. He retired in 1824.
- (3) A. Wilczewski had already been a teacher at the szkola glowna and was then teaching mathematics and physics, but also Polish. In 1844 he retired and died in 1862.
- (4) A. Arnold was born near Gotha and joined the school in 1817 to teach history, geography and German; for some time he also taught French, English, and Italian. In 1829 he became principal of the Gymnasium of Koenigsberg i.d.N.
- (5) G.H. Kretschmar was born in Freiberg/Saxony in 1788. His father was a preacher. After attending school in Freiberg, he studied theology at the Universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig. From his position as a teacher at the Ritterakademie Liegnitz he was transferred to Bromberg in 1817 and taught there until his death in 1854.
- (6) Keil taught at the Gymnasium from 1817 to 1820 and was transferred to the Ritterakademie Liegnitz.
- (7) Kaletta taught mathematics and Polish from 1817 until his retirement in 1828.
- (8) L. von Winter was born in Halle in 1797, his father was a minister. He studied theology at Halle University and joined the Gymnasium in 1819 until 1821 when he became a Protestant minister.





- (9) J.A. Goldschmidt was born at Belitz in 1797, attended school in Brandenburg and studied theology at Halle University. After teaching at the Halle-Orphanage, he was transferred to Bromberg in 1820 where he taught natural sciences until his death in 1849.
- (10) A. von Rakowski was born near Posen in 1793, attended the Gymnasium of Posen and studied philology and pedagogics at Breslau University. In 1821 he joined the Gymnasium and taught Latin, Polish, and French until his death in 1848.
- (11) Dr. J.C. Hempel was born near Stolberg in 1791 as the son of a minister. He attended the Klosterschule Rossleben and studied theology and philology at the universities of Halle and Leipzig. In 1824 he was transferred from his teaching-position at the Paedagogium of Halle to the Gymnasium where he taught classical languages, religion, and Hebrew until his retirement in 1843. He died in 1851.
- (12) Dr. H.T. Roetscher was born in Berlin as the son of a preacher and director of an orphanage. He attended the Gymnasium Graues Kloster in Berlin, where he also studied philology and philosophy and was a lecturer at the faculty of philosophy for some time. In 1830 he accepted an appointment in Bromberg where he taught until 1845. He then returned to academic studies.
- (13) Dr. E.A.F. Maetzner was born in Rostock in 1805. He studied theology and philosophy at Rostock and Greifswald, and philology and philosophy at Heidelberg. At Yverdon he worked as a private tutor, then taught in Berlin, before he came to Bromberg where he taught French, German, religion, and history from 1831 to 1834, when he accepted an appointment as the principal of a school in Berlin.
- (14) C.F. Breda was born in Neu-Ruppin in 1808 and studied philology and philosophy in Berlin. After teaching there, he was transferred to Bromberg in 1833.
- (15) Dr. L. Kuehnast was born in Bromberg in 1812. He attended school in Thorn, then studied at Berlin University, and joined the Gymnasium in 1833. In 1838 he was transferred to the Gymnasium of Thorn.
- (16) J. Fechner, Protestant, was born at Unruhstadt in 1815 as the son of a miller and farmer. He attended the Marien-Gymnasium of Posen and studied philology at the universities of Breslau and Berlin. In 1836 he began teaching classical languages and German at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium of Posen and was transferred to Bromberg in 1838.
- (17) Dr. H. Schoenbeck was born in Posen in 1817, attended school there, and studied in Berlin and Halle. In 1841 he began teaching at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium of Posen and was transferred to Bromberg in 1843.



- (18) Dr. J.H. Deinhardt was born near Weimar in 1805 as the son of a small landowner. He went to school in Erfurt before he studied philology and pedagogics in Berlin. He first taught in Wittenberg and was transferred to Bromberg in 1844 as the new principal.
- (19) A. Januskowski was born near Koenigsberg in 1805. He attended school in Braunsberg, studied philology at Koenigsberg University and taught at a school in Braunsberg and at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. # 53) before he was transferred to Bromberg.
- (20) A. Krueger was born near Luckau in 1816, taught initially in Wittenberg, and was transferred to Bromberg in 1845.
- (21) Dr. E.G.R. Hoffman was born in Schneidemuehl in 1823, attended the Marien-Gymnasium, and studied in Berlin and Halle. After teaching at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium he joined the Gymnasium in 1849, teaching French and Polish.
- (22) F.H.A. Serno was born in Cottbus in 1813, attended school there and then studied theology at Berlin University. He was a minister of the Protestant Church and a part-time teacher for religious instruction.
- (23) Bogedain studied Catholic religion in Breslau and in 1836-37 taught Catholic religion in Bromberg. He was a teacher at the Catholic Seminary in Posen in later years, was appointed its principal and was eventually a member of the Provincial Education Commission.
- (24) Maniurka taught Catholic religion from 1837 to 1842; in later years he was employed at the teacher-training college of Posen.
- (25) Turkowski was born at Radomierz in 1810, attended school at Lissa, and studied theology in Breslau. He was transferred from Tremessen to Bromberg in 1843 and taught religion.
- (26) Plath taught at the Gymnasium from 1827 to 1828 and then became a Protestant minister.
- (27) Ottara (or Ottawa) was transferred from the Gymnasium of Breslau to Bromberg in 1828, and after 1833 taught at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #38).
- (28) Dr. Janson was employed from 1829 to 1830 and was transferred to a school in Rastenburg.
- (29) C. Flambert taught French from 1820 to 1825. He was of French nationality.
- (30) B. de Bellemain had taught French at Koethen and was employed at Bromberg from 1827 to 1830. He was of French nationality.
- (31) C. Sadowski was born in Potsdam in 1795 and instructed the lower grades in mathematics and writing from 1817 until his death in 1852.



- (32) Nieberding was a teaching-candidate from 1830 to 1831 and later taught ay Conitz.
- (33) R. Kaulfuss was a teaching-candidate during 1842/43.
- (34) Kattner was a teaching-candidate in 1845.
- (35) Dr. Spoerer was a teaching-candidate in 1845 and an assistant-teacher until 1847. He was transferred to the Gymnasium of Anclam.
- (36) Dr. Magener taught at the school from 1849 to 1850 and was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium of Posen.

#### Gymnasium of Lissa

- (1) B.D. Cassius was born in 1746 and was the principal when the school was designated as a gymnasium. He retired in 1824 and died in 1828.
- (2) J.F.L.K. Cassius was born in 1787 and taught at the school until 1848. He was at the same time a Protestant minister. From 1843 to 1844 he was also acting principal.
- (3) J.D. Woide was born in Lissa in 1765 as the son of a soap-maker. He taught at the school until his retirement in 1832.
- (4) P.S. Ciechanski was born in Poland in 1785 and had taught at Wetzlar before he joined the school in 1820. He taught mathematics, world history, political geography and languages; e.g., he spoke Polish, German, Latin, Greek, English, and Italian.
- (5) J.K. von Putiatycki was born at Fraustadt and had been a teacher at the district-school of Fraustadt before he joined the school in 1821. He taught mathematics and physics, and retired in 1848.
- (6) K.G. Monski, Protestant, joined the school in 1821 until 1826 when he became a Protestant minister in Silesia. He returned to Posen and in 1832 taught at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #35).
- (7) A. Poplinski became a teacher for Polish language and literature in 1821 and published a number of textbooks. He died in 1839 (cf. #25 Marien-Gymnasium).
- (8) Dr. F.L. Duetschke, a former Protestant (?) minister, joined the school from 1821 until 1831, when he became a member of the Provincial Education Commission.
- (9) L. Fleischer had been a principal at a school for girls before he came to Lissa in 1822. He retired in 1851.
- (10) Dr. J.C. von Stoephasius was born at Gurkow in 1772 and attended





school in Brandenburg. His father was a preacher. He studied theology and philology in Halle and, after teaching at Perleberg and Potsdam, became professor at a Lyceum in Warsaw. In 1817 he returned to Magdeburg as the principal of Paedagogium, but already one year later was appointed member of the Provincial Education Commission of Posen. After Cassius' retirement he was made the new principal of the Gymnasium from 1824 to 1833. The University of Cracow conferred on him the title of Doctor of Philosophy and the Russian Tsar made him a Knight, an honour that was confirmed by the King of Prussia. Stoephasius died in 1842.

- (11) J.J. Steck came from Neufchatel to Posen where he was at first teaching privately before he was appointed teacher for French in 1825. He returned to Bern in 1840.
- (12) K.E.A.A. Matern was a teacher at the Collegium Fredericianum in Koenigsberg before he came to Lissa in 1826, where he taught until his death in 1867.
- (13) E.K. Olawski was born in Brieg and taught at Ratibor and Liegnitz before he joined the Gymnasium in 1831.
- (14) Dr. G. Schoeler was appointed principal in 1833, coming from the Gymnasium of Danzig. He was born near Rudolstadt/Thuringia in 1793 and studied in Leipzig philology. He was transferred in 1843 as principal of the Gymnasium of Erfurt.
- (15) K.F.E. Marme had been a student of the Gymnasium and joined the school in 1833.
- (16) J.R. Contenius, Protestant, was born as the son of a saddler at Fraustadt in 1809. He was a student of the Gymnasium and studied philology in Berlin. He died briefly before his definitive appointment in 1834.
- (17) K.A. Tschepke, Protestant, was born at Bojanowo in 1809 as the son of a sexton. He attended the Gymnasium of Lissa, and after studying history and geography joined the teaching-staff in 1835 until his retirement in 1871.
- (18) Dr. M. Szymanski, Catholic, was the son of a member of the Legislative Assembly. He attended the Marien-Gymnasium, studied in Berlin, and joined the school in 1841; he died in 1848.
- (19) Dr. G.A. Witt taught at the school from 1842 to 1855.
- (20) A. Ziegler was born in 1804, attended the Joachimsthal-Gymnasium in Berlin and studied at Berlin University. After spending some time in France he became a teacher in Berlin and at a school for cadettes before he was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Posen. In 1844 he was appointed principal in Lissa where he taught until 1872.





- (21) A. von Karwowski had taught at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #61) before he was transferred to Lissa in 1846.
- (22) Dr. J. Methner, Protestant, was born in Lissa in 1825 as the son of a craftsman. He went to school in Lissa and became a teacher in 1848.
- (23) J. Toeplitz, Jewish, was born in Lissa in 1825 as the son of a teacher; he attended school in Lissa, studied mathematics and physics and joined the Gymnasium in 1848.
- (24) G.A. Wiedner taught at the school from 1831 to 1833.
- (25) L. Knorr was employed from 1835 to 1836. He was transferred to the Realschule Meseritz.
- (26) Rauch taught at the school in 1838 and was transferred to a city-school.
- (27) Dr. J. Szostakowski taught at the school from 1839 to 1840 when he was transferred to the Marien-Gymnasium. In later years he taught in Ostrowo.
- (28) Dr. A.J. Tschepke taught at the school from 1840 to 1841 and later taught at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium of Posen.
- (29) Dr. W. Mielewski taught at the school from 1843 to 1845 and was transferred to Ostrowo. He also taught at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #89) and in later years became a member of the Provincial Education Commission.
- (30) A.W.F. Soyaux was a Protestant minister and taught religion until 1823.
- (31) A. Schiedewitz taught Protestant religion from 1825 to 1847.
- (32) E. Pflug was a Protestant minister and taught religion from 1830 to 1865.
- (33) A. Kazubski taught Catholic religion in 1822.
- (34) J. Krolikowski was a former student of the Gymnasium and became a Catholic priest. He taught religion from 1823 to 1825.
- (35) M. Jarosch taught Catholic religion from 1825 to 1832.
- (36) A.J.N. Tyc taught Catholic religion from 1832 to 1845.
- (37) J. Frasunkiewicz taught Catholic religion from 1845 to 1850 and was then employed at the Catholic Seminary of Posen.
- (38) H. von Kurowski taught Catholic religion from 1849 on.



- (39) G. Arndt was transferred as art-teacher from the district-school of Fraustadt in 1822; he retired in 1852.
- (40) J.S. Taedlings was born as the son of a contractor and was of Catholic denomination. His subjects were German, Polish, Latin, and arithmetic.
- (41) Dulinski was in 1850 transferred to the Marien-Gymnasium.
- (42) G. Cichowicz (no data available)

#### Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium

- (1) Dr. C. Wendt was born in Koenigsberg i.d.N. in 1803 as the son of a preacher. He attended the Ritterakademie Liegnitz and studied in Berlin where he taught at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and the Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster. After teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #30) he became the first principal of the Gymnasium in 1834 and was appointed member of the Provincial Education Commission as the replacement of Dr. Jacob. In 1848, when he also became a member of the Verfassungs-Verein, he was transferred to Stettin as Regierungsrat.
- (2) Dr. F. Martin was born in Halle in 1797 as the son of a non-commissioned officer. He studied at Halle University theology and philology and taught at the Paedagogium Halle and the Domgymnasium Halberstadt. After he had been a teacher at the Marien-Gymnasium since 1825, he was transferred to the Gymnasium in 1834 (cf. #22).
- (3) Dr. G. Mueller was born in Guestrow in 1792. He was transferred in 1834 from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #23). From 1830 to 1848 he was the editor of the Posener Zeitung.
- (4) Dr. C. Benecke was born in Salzwedel in 1797; in Halle he studied theology and philology. After teaching in Salzwedel and Magdeburg he was employed at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #24) and transferred to the Gymnasium in 1834.
- (5) C. Monski had been teaching at Lissa (cf. #6) and the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #35) before he was transferred to the Gymnasium in 1834.
- (6) Dr. H. Loew was transferred from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #42) in 1834. In 1848/49 he was a delegate to the National Assembly in Frankfurt. In later years (1850) he became Principal of the Real-schule Meseritz.
- (7) A. Ziegler was born in the Grand Duchy and attended school in Berlin. He became principal at Lissa in 1845. (cf. #20).
- (8) J. Schoenborn was born in Meseritz in 1801 as the son of a preacher. He attended school and studied in Breslau before he became a teacher



at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #27). In 1834 he joined the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.

- (9) Dr. Trinkler was transferred from Berlin in 1834; after ten years he became Regierungs- und Schulrat in Merseburg.
- (10) W. Schoenborn taught at the school from 1834 to 1835 and was transferred to the school in Krotoschin. In later years he also taught at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #62).
- (11) Bruellow had previously been teaching in Berlin.
- (12) Dr. H. Schoenbeck was born in the Grand Duchy and joined the teaching-staff in 1843. Two years later he was transferred to Bromberg (cf. #17).
- (13) Dr. K. Libelt was a former student of the Marien-Gymnasium and studied in Berlin. He taught at the Gymnasium from 1841 to 1844. Libelt became one of the leading Polish spokesmen in later years.
- (14) J. Fechner taught at the school from 1836 to 1838 before he was transferred to Bromberg (cf. #16).
- (15) Dr. J. Rymarkewicz was a teacher since 1845 and was transferred to the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #84) in 1848. For many years he had been the Chairman of the Marcinkowski Association. He taught Polish.
- (16) Dr. T. Kock was a former student of the school who had studied in Breslau, Halle, and Berlin. In 1850 he was transferred to Elbing.
- (17) Dr. Hepke joined the school in 1848, coming from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #77).
- (18) F. Kiesling was born in Zeitz in 1809 and studied in Halle. Afterwards he taught in Zeitz until 1835, was appointed Regierungs- und Schulrat in Hildburgshausen and moved into the same position in Posen in 1843; at the same time he was the principal of the Gymnasium until 1850 when he was transferred to Berlin.
- (19) Dr. C. Trinkler was born near Posen in 1819, attended the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and studied in Breslau and Berlin. He became a teacher in 1849.
- (20) C. Mueller II was born in Nordhausen in 1808. After he had studied in Halle he taught in Putbus and joined the school in 1844.
- (21) G. Ritschl was born in Berlin in 1816, attended school in Stettin and studied at Berlin and Greifswald universities. After teaching in Stettin he joined the Gymnasium in 1841.



- (22) J. von Lukaschewicz, Catholic, was born in Posen in 1797 and had studied at the University of Cracow before he obtained his position in Posen in 1839. He was the author of several Polish textbooks.
- (23) A. Rother was born in Glatz/Silesia in 1811, was Catholic, and studied mathematics and natural sciences in Berlin. He joined the school in 1839.
- (24) Hensel was transferred to Rogasen in 1842.
- (25) Dr. Krahner joined the Gymnasium in 1849, coming from Halle.
- (26) Dr. Heidemann replaced Kiesling as the new principal in 1850.
- (27) Dr. Mings was transferred to Tremessen in 1849.
- (28) Perdisch was transferred from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #91) in 1834.
- (29) Herberg (no data available)
- (30) Grandke (no data available)
- (31) Hueppe (no data available)
- (32) Dr. Tiesler (no data available)

#### Gymnasium of Tremessen

- (1) Meissner was the first principal of the school.
- (2) Peterek was transferred to Ostrowo in 1848.
- (3) Dr. Ogienski was formerly teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #56). In 1847 he converted to the Protestant faith and left the Gymnasium.
- (4) Kalinski joined the Gymnasium in 1841 and later became the principal of the Catholic Seminary of Posen in 1846.
- (5) Dr. Piegsa became a teacher in 1841; in 1848 he was a delegate to the National Assembly in Berlin.
- (6) Dr. Szostakowski joined the school in 1841 after he had been teaching at Lissa (cf. #27). In 1846 he was transferred to Ostrowo.
- (7) Dr. Jerzykowski was transferred to Ostrowo in 1846.
- (8) Szulc came from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #68) in 1846 and returned there in 1848.
- (9) Janiszewski left the school in 1847 and taught at the Catholic seminary in Posen.





- (10) Dr. von Prusinowski joined the school in 1847, coming from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #70).
- (11) Dziadek became principal in 1848.
- (12) Tschakert was transferred to the Gymnasium from Gnesen.
- (13) Dr. Ney was dismissed after 1848.
- (14) Brzezinski was teaching religion; he was dismissed for political reasons in 1848.
- (15) Zimmermann (no data available)
- (16) Pambuch (no data available)
- (17) von Lutomski (no data available)
- (18) Dr. Schneider (no data available)

#### Realschule Meseritz

- (1) S.G. Kerst had lived in Brazil before he became a teacher. In 1837 he was appointed principal and he held the position until 1849. He was a delegate to the National Assembly in Frankfurt.
- (2) Dr. H. Loew followed Kerst as principal in 1850. He had been teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #42) and at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (cf. #6).
- (3) J.A. Fechner was born in Fraustadt and had been trained there at the teacher-seminary before he joined the school in 1834 until 1861.
- (4) A.F.J. Gaebel was born in Lissa, studied theology and philology in Breslau, and joined the school in 1834. From 1848 to 1850 he was acting principal, and retired in 1859. He was a delegate to the 1849-conference on the reorganization of secondary education in Berlin.
- (5) G.K. Holzschuher was born in Bayreuth and had attended the teacher-seminary at Bunzlau before he became a private teacher in Posen. He joined the school in 1835 until 1870.
- (6) K.F. Schultz had been a private teacher in Berlin before he came to Meseritz; in 1844 he retired.
- (7) G.H. Kade was born in Posen and studied law and philology in Berlin. After teaching in Berlin and Brandenburg he taught at Meseritz from 1836 to 1860.
- (8) H.F. Torfstecher was born at Prenzlau and studied mathematics and natural sciences in Berlin. He was the son of a preacher. In 1836 he joined the teaching-staff until 1842.



- (9) J.G. Schubert was born in Silesia and studied at the seminary of Bunzlau. Before he came to Meseritz in 1836 he had been a teacher at a city-school. He retired in 1858.
- (10) A.L. Knorr was born in Bromberg and studied philology in Breslau. After teaching at Lissa (cf. #25) he came to Meseritz 1837 and left the school in 1853.
- (11) R. Primer was born in Kalisch and studied law and philology in Breslau. After he had been teaching in Posen he joined the Real-schule from 1838 to 1843.
- (12) E.A. Hahnrieder was born in Eastern Prussia as the son of a land-owner. He studied mathematics and natural sciences in Koenigsberg and taught there before he came to Meseritz in 1843.
- (13) Dr. R.F. Hepke had been teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #77) and the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (cf. #17) before he taught in Meseritz in 1835 to 1845.
- (14) Dr. J.A. Schaefer was born in Potsdam and studied in Berlin theology and philology. Before he came to Meseritz in 1846 he had been teaching in Berlin. He retired in 1882.
- (15) K.H. Froelich had been a teacher at Marienwerder before he was appointed the new principal from 1832 to 1834 when the school was first opened.
- (16) Dr. Gessner was transferred to the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in 1847.

#### Gymnasium of Ostrowo

- (1) Dr. R. Enger was born in Silesia in 1813. He attended school in Gleiwitz, studied at Breslau University and taught at the Catholic Gymnasium of Breslau and in Oppeln before he became the first principal in 1845. In 1866 he was transferred to the Marien-Gymnasium.
- (2) Dr. J. Szostakowski was transferred to the school in 1846, after he had been teaching at Lissa (cf. #27) and at Tremessen (cf. #6).
- (3) Peterek was transferred to the school in 1848 from the Gymnasium of Tremessen (cf. #2).
- (4) Stephan was transferred to the school in 1848 from Conitz.
- (5) Lewandowski left the school in 1849 to teach in Jarocin.
- (6) Dr. Jerzykowski was transferred to the Gymnasium in 1846 from Tremessen (cf. #7).



- (7) Dr. Mielewski joined the school in 1846, coming from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (cf. #29). He later joined the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #89).

#### Realschule Krotoschin

- (1) K.G. Monski was the first principal. He had taught before at the Gymnasium of Lissa (cf. #6), at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #35), and the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (cf. #5) before he taught at Krotoschin.
- (2) W. Schoenborn, Protestant, was born in Meseritz as the son of a minister in 1811. He attended the Gymnasium of Schulpforta and studied philology, mathematics and physics in Breslau. In 1836 he was transferred from the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (cf. #10) after he had been teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #62).
- (3) Gladisch, Catholic, was born near Meseritz in 1804. He attended school in Glogau and studied philosophy and philology in Berlin, and history in Breslau. After teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #39) he was relieved of his duties there in 1844 and conducted research in Halle, Leipzig and Berlin. After Monski's death in 1848 he became the new principal.
- (4) C. Czarnecki, Catholic, was born at Fraustadt in 1808 as the son of a forester. He attended the Gymnasium of Lissa and studied philology in Bonn. After he had been teaching at the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #40) he was transferred to Krotoschin in 1845 and later returned to the Marien-Gymnasium.
- (5) W. Bleich, Protestant, was born at Vandsburg in 1810. He attended the teacher seminary of Posen and joined the Realschule in 1836.
- (6) J. Figurski, Catholic, was born in Allenstein in 1808, attended the Gymnasium of Braunsberg and studied in Koenigsberg philology. At Krotoschin he taught in 1837 and was then transferred to the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #55).
- (7) T. Radowicz, Catholic, was born in Potsdam in 1810, attended school there and studied theology and philosophy in Breslau. He was transferred from the Marien-Gymnasium (cf. #54) in 1838 when he converted to the Protestant faith.
- (8) Szyperski, Catholic, was born in 1811 and had taught at Schlochau before he joined the Realschule. Because of his involvement with the Polish National Committee and the Polish uprising he was dismissed in 1848.
- (9) Wendtland, Catholic, taught at the school from 1844 to 1847 and was then transferred to an elementary school in Ostrowo.



- (10) R. Primer, Protestant, studied in Breslau and taught at Meseritz (cf. #11) before he came to Krotoschin.
- (11) T. von Choinski, Catholic, was employed at the school in 1848. In 1850 he became the principal of a burgher-school at Schrimm.
- (12) C. Goehling, Protestant, was born at Rawitsch in 1816 and attended the teacher seminary in Bromberg. He joined the Realschule in 1847.
- (13) C. Ruehle, Protestant, was born in Liegnitz in 1821 and attended school there. He studied theology and philosophy at Halle and Berlin. After having taught at the Ritterakademie Liegnitz he was transferred to Krotoschin in 1849.
- (14) A. Eggeling was born in Breslau in 1825, where he attended school and studied history and geography. He came to Krotoschin in 1849.





## PRINCIPALS AND VICE-PRINCIPALS 1815-1850

| Name               | Year of Appointment | School                | Transferred From      |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Dr. J.S. Kaulfuss  | 1815                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Halle                 |
| B.D. Cassius       | 1821                | Gymnasium Lissa       | Lissa                 |
| L.N.F. Mueller     | 1817                | Gymnasium Bromberg    | Gotha/Zuellichau      |
| Dr. v. Stoephasius | 1824                | Gymnasium Lissa       | Warsaw/Magdeburg      |
| Dr. F. Jacob       | 1825                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Magdeburg/Koenigsberg |
| Von Buchowski      | 1824                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Posen                 |
| M. Stoc            | 1829                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Posen                 |
| Dr. C. Wendt       | 1832                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Berlin                |
| Meissner           | 1840                | Gymnasium Tremessen   |                       |
| Dr. Prabucki       | 1842                | Marien-Gymnasium      |                       |
| S.G. Kerst         | 1837                | Realschule Meseritz   |                       |
| F. Kiesling        | 1843                | Fr.-Wilh.-Gymnasium   | Hildburgshausen       |
| C. Monski          | 1836                | Realschule Krotoschin | Posen                 |
| Dr. H.A. Brettner  | 1846                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Breslau               |
| Dr. Mielewski      | 1850                | Marien-Gymnasium      | Posen                 |
| Dr. G. Schoeler    | 1833                | Gymnasium Lissa       | Danzig                |
| A. Ziegler         | 1844                | Gymnasium Lissa       | Berlin/Posen          |
| K.H. Froehlich     | 1832                | Realschule Meseritz   |                       |
| Dziadek            | 1848                | Gymnasium Tremessen   |                       |
| Dr. J.H. Deinhardt | 1844                | Gymnasium Bromberg    | Wittenberg            |
| Dr. R. Enger       | 1845                | Gymnasium Ostrowo     | Breslau/Oppeln        |
| A.F.J. Gaebel      | 1834(?)             | Realschule Meseritz   | Lissa                 |
| Gladisch           | 1848                | Realschule Krotoschin | Posen                 |
| Dr. H. Loew        | 1850                | Realschule Meseritz   | Berlin/Posen          |
| Dr. Heidemann      | 1850                | Fr.-Wilh.-Gymnasium   |                       |



## MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATION COMMISSION 1815-1850

| Name            | Year of Appointment | Institutional Link                   |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Dr. Jacob       | 1815                |                                      |
| Bornemann       | 1818                | Marien-Gymnasium                     |
| von Stoephasius | 1815                | Gymnasium Lissa                      |
| Dr. Duetschke   | 1831                | Gymnasium Lissa                      |
| Fechner         | 1833 (?)            |                                      |
| Dr. Wendt       | 1842 (?)            | Marien-Gymnasium/Friedr.-Wilh.-Gym.  |
| Dr. Brettner    | 1843                | Marien-Gymnasium                     |
| F. Kiesling     | 1843                | Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium         |
| Dr. Milewski    | 1850                | Marien-Gymnasium                     |
| Bogedain        | 1850 (?)            | Gymnasium Bromberg/Catholic Seminary |

## PRESIDENTS-IN-CHIEF (OBERPRAESIDENTEN) 1815-1850

|                        |           |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Zerboni di Sposetti    | 1815-1825 |
| von Baumann            | 1825-1830 |
| Flottwell              | 1830-1841 |
| Graf Arnim-Boitzenburg | 1841-1843 |
| von Beurmann           | 1843-1850 |
| von Bonin              | 1850-1851 |

## MINISTERS OF EDUCATION 1815-1850

|                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| Von Stein zu Altenstein | 1817-1840 |
| J.A.F. Eichhorn         | 1840-1848 |
| Graf von Schwerin       | 1848      |
| J.K. Rodbertus          | 1848      |
| A. von Ladenberg        | 1848-1850 |



## SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION 1815-1850

- (1) Von Stein zu Altenstein, Minister, (1770-1840) was born in Ansbach, studied law, philosophy and natural sciences at the universities of Jean, Erlangen, and Goettingen.
- (2) J.A.F. Eichhorn, Minister, (1779-1849) was born at Wertheim/Main as the son of a Royal Chamberlain (Hofkammerrat). He studied law and state-law in Goettingen.
- (3) Graf von Schwerin, Minister, was born near Anklam in 1804 and studied law in Berlin, and Heidelberg. He was Schleiermacher's son-in-law and member of the Diet of Pomerania (Pommerscher Landtag). From 1850 to 1862 he was Minister of the Interior.
- (4) J.K. Rodbertus, Minister, was born in Greifswald in 1805 and studied in Berlin and Goettingen. After he had worked for the government in Breslau and Oppeln, he resigned from the civil service. In 1848, he became a member of the Prussian National Assembly and was one of the founders of its Left Centre.
- (5) A. von Ladenberg, Minister, was born in Ansbach in 1798; his father became a Minister in later years. He studied in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Goettingen. Since 1839 he had been a senior official of the Ministry.
- (6) Lehnert, Under-state-secretary, was born in Magdeburg. As a trained jurist he was a member of the Commission for the Investigation of Subversive Activities. He resigned for political reasons in 1848.
- (7) G. Eilers, state-secretary, (1790-1863) was educational administrator at Kreuznach and Koblenz before he joined the Ministry the 1840.
- (8) G.H.C. Nicolovius, Ministerial Director, (1767-1839) was born in Koenigsberg where he studied law and theology and philosophy. Since 1805 he worked for the government in the area of education and culture; he was a close friend of Pestalozzi.
- (9) K.A.C. von Kamptz, Ministerial Director (1769-1849), was born in Schwerin and studied law at Goettingen. He worked for the Ministry of Police before he joined the Ministry of Education in 1822.
- (10) J.W. Suevern, Ministerial Director (1775-1829), was born in Lemgo and studied theology, philosophy, Pedagogics and archaeology in Jena and Halle. In 1807 he became Professor at Koenigsberg University and was a member of the Ministry from 1817 to 1824. From 1800 to 1807 he had been principal of the Gymnasium of Thorn and the Gymnasium of Elbing.



## APPENDIX B

### Statutes of the Association for the Support of the Learning Youth in the Grand Duchy of Posen

#### I. Objectives and Funds of the Association:

- Sect. 1: It is the purpose of the association to promote the talented youth of the great mass of the people, to give their inherent dispositions the development and direction so that it will benefit the country, and to lend the young the needed support for achieving this end.
- Sect. 2: The funds of the association consist of voluntary fees and donations from individuals, of any amount. The association considers itself to be operative as soon as the annual membership-fees total 2,000 Reichsthalers.
- Sect. 3: Every citizen of the Grand Duchy of Posen who commits himself to pay fees for at least five years becomes a member of the association.
- Sect. 4: Members paying a minimum of 20 Reichsthalers per year have the right of participating in the election of the directorate.
- Sect. 20: Every member is obliged to work for the benefit of the association and for achieving its ends; but also should he comply to the requests of the directorate or the local committees, attend the public examinations of the rural and city-schools, offer his evaluation of the conduct of the students, and see to his children's punctual attendance at school, and, finally, help in the selection of those students who distinguish themselves through diligence and ability, and submit those names to the committee.
- Sect. 21: Assistance will only be granted to inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Posen . . . . In cases where no certificate of poverty is available, the committee can certify the need for support if possible, or inquire into the need for help.
- Sect. 22: The applicant has to speak both languages, or at least be in a position that during his future educational career he will be certain of acquiring the knowledge of the one or the other language which he is lacking at the time . . . .

Posen, August 25, 1841





## APPENDIX C

### Abituraufsätze (Essays for the School-leaving Certificate)

#### 1825 (Marien-Gymnasium)

"Ueber die Macht der Gewohnheit" (On the power of habit)

#### 1827 (Marien-Gymnasium)

"Der Besuch oeffentlicher Unterrichtsanstalten ist eine Wohltat fuer den Juengling" (Attending public educational institutions is a benefit to the adolescent)

#### 1829 (Gymnasium of Lissa)

"Ueber den hohen Wert eines taetigen und geschaeftsvollen Lebens" (On the high value of an active and busy life)

"Entwicklung der gefaehrlichen Folgen des Gluecks" (Exposition on the dangerous consequences of good fortune)

"Die Regierung Koenig Philipp II. von Spanien" (The government of King Philipp II of Spain)

#### 1829 (Marien-Gymnasium)

"Welche Ruecksichten hat man bei der Wahl eines kuenftigen Berufs zu nehmen?" (Considerations one has to make in choosing one's future occupation)

"Die Ursachen der Christenverfolgungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus" (Causes of the persecution of Christians during the first centuries A.D.)

"Ueber die Uneigennuetzigkeit" (On altruism)

#### 1830 (Gymnasium of Lissa)

"Nicht jeder kann sich durch ausserordentliche Handlungen auszeichnen, und soll es auch nicht; aber gemeinnuetzig und fuer die Menschheit wohltaetig zu wirken, das ist jedem moeglich" (Not everybody can distinguish himself through extraordinary deeds, and he is not even expected to; but to act in the interest of the community and of mankind, this everybody is in a position to do)



"Ueber die Notwendigkeit und den Nutzen des gruendlichen Studiums der Muttersprache" (On the need and the utility of thorough studies of the vernacular)

1831 (Gymnasium of Lissa)

"Warum verliert die Tugend nichts bei der Dunkelheit im Gange der menschlichen Schicksale auf Erden?" (Why does virtue not lose out in the darkness of human predicaments)

"Das Sittengesetz ist ein unveraenderliches ewiges Gesetz; es ist gleichsam der Lehrer unserer Pflichten und der Fuehrer unseres Lebens" (Moral laws are unchangeable and eternal; they are as such the teachers of our duties, and the guides for our lives)

"Die groesste Wohltat der Gottheit fuer das ganze Menschengeschlecht ist die Erhaltung der Wissenschaften, denn sie sind die allein sicheren Stuetzen der oeffentlichen Wohlfahrt, die beglueckenden Begleiterinnen des haeuslichen Lebens und das einzige Mittel, das Menschengeschlecht fuer eine hoehere Bestimmung zu erziehen" (The greatest benefit of Divinity for mankind is the preservation of sciences, because they form the solely firm pillars of public wealth, they are the gratifying champions of domestic life and the only means for educating humanity for a higher purpose)

1832 (Gymnasium of Lissa)

"Ueber die Ursachen der Aufloesung des abendlaendischen Kaisertums" (On the causes of the dissolution of occidental cesarism)

"Ueber die Hindernisse, welche vom 13. Jahrhundert bis 1517 die Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache und Literature hemmten" (On the obstacles that impeded the development of German language and literature from the 13th century until 1517)

"Warum hat vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in die Mitte des 15. die griechische Literatur auf die Sprache und Kultur der neu-europaeischen Voelker einen so geringen Einfluss ausgeuebt?" (Why did Greek language and literature exercise such a weak influence on the neo-European peoples' language and culture from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries?)

1840 (Marien-Gymnasium)

"Die Folgen der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst" (Consequences of the invention of the printing-press)

"Wozu dient das Studium der Literatur der Griechen und Roemer?" (Why do we study the literature of the Greeks and the Romans?)

"Ueber das Ehrwuerdige in dem Charakter des Sokrates" (On the venerable in Socrates' character)



1847 (Gymnasium of Bromberg)

"Durch was fuer Mittel wird die Einheit des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins erhalten ungeachtet der politischen Getrenntheit Deutschlands?" (What are the means by which the unity of a German national consciousness is preserved despite the political separation of Germany?)

1846 (Gymnasium of Bromberg)

"Inwiefern kann das Nibelungenlied als ein Spiegel des deutschen Nationalcharakters angesehen werden?" (In which way can the Nibelungenlied be understood as mirroring the German national character?)

1848 (Gymnasium of Tremessen)

"Was macht uns den Schmeichler so verabscheuungswuerdig?" (What is so detestable about a flatterer?)

"Erst waege, dann wage; erst gedacht, dann getan." (First assess, then act; think before you do things)

1848 (Marien-Gymnasium)

"Das Leben in der Schule ist eine Vorbereitung fuer das Leben im Staate". (Life in school is a preparation for life in the state)

"Wie laesst sich die Erscheinung erklaren, dass in so vielen Faellen wissenschaftliche Bildung fuer sittliche Veredlung so wenig austragt?" (How can you explain the fact that in so many cases scholarly education does not result in ennobling the soul?)

1849 (Gymnasium of Tremessen)

"Wodurch ist Europa den uebrigen Weltteilen ueberlegen?" (In what respect is Europe superior to the rest of the world?)



#### APPENDIX D

Letter of the Royal Provincial Education Commission to the principal of the Marien-Gymnasium, Stoc, of November 10, 1826. (Acta Gimnazjum Marii Magdaleny w Poznania, Sygn. 9a. State Archive Poznan)

Although we readily acknowledge that at the school of which you are the principal, the moral education of the students is not being neglected, we still think it necessary to promote the same to an even greater extent, and we therefore provide you with the following instruction.

The specific objective of the gymnasium, and this is what distinguishes it from other types of schools, namely its emphasis on scientific and scholarly education, normally requires so much of the teachers' attention that the moral education of their students cannot be attended to at all times.

We consider moral education to be the preservation or the achievement and promotion of the purity of mind and soul which, founded in the correctness and clarity of these concepts and in genuine religiosity, aims at the development of a good and noble character and subsequent kinds of action.

This type of education, which is the highest purpose of all instruction, can also be fostered at gymnasia which, in a strict sense, are not institutions for character development (nicht eigenliche Erziehungsanstalten sind), through various means, some of which we hereby bring to your attention because of their importance; their implementation is urgently suggested.

It goes without saying that here, as well, the good example set by the teachers, i.e., the sincerity of their manners, the integrity of their conduct, their friendly, trustful, and collegial relations, their impartiality in dealing with their students, and the conscientiousness in performing their duties, are of greatest influence, and we trust that you together with your colleagues will ensure that your students will not be offended by adverse moral conduct.

Most of all, you have to ensure that truthfulness in their attitudes, words, and actions become the absolute principles of your students. We have to assume that among uncorrupted children and adolescents adherence to the truth is considered a natural principle. However, in a mixed student population such as ours, we at times have to honour truthfulness as a genuine achievement. And since usually either fear or





punishment or the attempt to gain an advantage lead to deviation from the truth, we will have to encourage students in their pursuit of truth by softening or waiving the former, but to categorically refuse the latter. Lying, this cause and effect of all that is evil, has, in all its forms, to be adequately despised and to be eliminated from those young minds by means of utmost attention and circumspection.

Next, obedience and respect for the law and for their teachers has to be implemented. If, as unfortunately happens again and again, some teachers are incapable of establishing their authority, then their colleagues have to help them wherever they can, but most importantly refrain from any comments which might further lessen the authority of the respective teachers.

Since getting accustomed to external order, cleanliness, and impeccable conduct has a great influence on the internalized appreciation of moral conduct among young people in general, those students have to be made aware of the need of observing the aforementioned principles with respect to all their copybooks, the punctual submission of the same, and their attire and their whole appearance in general.

As far as instruction itself is concerned, particularly with respect to natural history and the study of Roman and Greek authors, everything has to be avoided by the teacher that might tarnish the purity of the youthful minds. Offensive passages in Justin, Ovid, Herodot, etc. are forbidden in the lower grades. Where similar passages appear in Tacitus, Horace, and the Roman and Greek comedy-writers for the upper grades, the teacher is advised to deal with them with severe dignity which suffocates any impure thoughts immediately. He will, moreover, make it his duty to castigate the licentiousness of the Roman and Greek peoples which so often due to its shiny appearance of genius appeals to idealistic young minds, whenever impudent statements especially in Horace and Ovid have to be discussed. This becomes imperative, since the private readings particularly of the most industrious students will confront them with passages that are unsuited for them. In the upper grades there is frequent opportunity to evaluate the efforts and views of the various scholars to provide explanations of difficult or impure passages of the Classics, and teachers are obliged to show circumspection and the necessary restraint.

Disrespectful censure and arrogantly looking down on some real or assumed errors of otherwise meritorious men is inappropriate in any case; but the young, generally inclined towards rash assessments, have to be educated by all means for modesty, and they have to be convinced that they are totally or at least in many respects unable to pass fair judgements.

Since the moral feelings of the students even in the lower grades have to be developed through readings in their mother tongue, through explanations of the classic authors, through the study of history, or through specific instances of their school-lives, and a certain judgement has to be made, then, in the upper grades, it becomes the



major objective to strive for the correct way of making judgements and for correctness and clarity of concepts in their relation to moral actions. Education will always have to struggle firmly against the powers of passion and egoism, but we must not give in.

This struggle has to start out from correcting these concepts that in part lead to actions, but also in part to judging these actions, and which in their interaction form what is known as public opinion and which, in its unlimited influence, rests on biased or wrong judgements in so many instances.

We are fully aware that only few teachers have the ability to amend this situation; but especially the gymmasia should have the resources that are required, and to those we appeal.

It is well known that general moral deliberations and discussions do not help to reach the desired objective; but our literature and our history are full of examples that can form the basis for a thorough discussion with the students and that can promote the rectification of influential concepts and lead towards clarity.

The teacher of empirical psychology, as well, will find many occasions where he can induce his students into pondering about selected problems; time spent in this way is certainly not wasted.

In dealing with the literature of the Classics we have to direct our students' attention at those passages where concepts such as civil liberties, the state's constitution etc. are mentioned. Since they reflect the historical situation of that era, they have to be carefully interpreted in order to avoid erroneous and often damaging views and conceptions among the easily aroused youth.

One of the basic problems in the development of concepts and the formation of a thorough, free judgement is certainly that many evaluations are provided by teachers and the students accept them fully, but also that these students are being asked to judge certain incidents that are far beyond their sphere of understanding.

Cesar, Charles V, and Frederick the Great cannot be discussed in *Tertia*; it is sufficient to describe their actions in general terms, without discussing in detail their characters, or how they rationalized their actions. The same applies to twelve-year-olds reading tragedies and novels by Goethe, Schiller, and Wieland, and passing judgement on them. And with great surprise one hears students talk about the various national literatures, without them having read all the works of even one of the respective writers.

That perhaps the majority of the public is being deceived by those practices is bad enough, but that teachers not only permit this and even encourage their students to deceive the public in this traditional manner, is the real problem. And those once publicly stated opinions easily become the firmly held belief of the young orator or



writer! They get accustomed to blindly regurgitating without intimate knowledge, and they thus begin to pass moral judgement on others and themselves by following their spokesmen and the crowd. Suffice it to mention this important aspect and to submit it to your and your colleagues' attention.

Never induce your students to judge things they do not understand or that are beyond their capacity to evaluate. The consequence would be nothing but rhetoric emptiness, whereas we are striving for truth. Instead, accustom your students to defending their judgements without recourse to sophisticated arguments, and to withdraw it if they have been convinced of the deficiencies of their assessment of the situation. Here the periods allotted to the discussion of the students' essays can be used to advantage. From here it follows that also books supplied by the school-library will have to be suitable to the various age-levels, and be used for the development of the evaluative faculties of the students.

Finally, religious instruction as the major means for moral education needs some elaboration. In the setting of the school, religion is often dealt with as a matter of the mind or even of memorization, just like grammar or philosophy. This is not the way to make it a blessing for the soul. The teacher has to touch the hearts of his students with seriousness and love, and every period of religious instruction should be a time of worship and elevation of the soul. A talk of the teacher with his students is by no means excluded, as long as it is conducted in the spirit of the Saviour.

The teacher of religion, like the home-room teacher, should preferably attempt to win the hearts and the confidence of his students; additionally, he should, like all other teachers, establish good rapport with the parents who entrust their children to his care. We know of all the inconveniences and difficulties involved, as well as the limits of what to be expected. But whoever possesses the living zeal and the required qualities and strength to expand his influence beyond the classroom into the realm of the family and into communication with the respective parents, will soon experience the gratification for much of his efforts. Particular attention should be given to those students who tend to deviate from the existing norms and laws, or even display a definite propensity for things that are evil.

It is beyond the scope of the present instruction to deal explicitly with all the deficiencies and vices that can be found in schools, and how to correct them. We trust that you and your colleagues have enough experience and feeling of responsibility, and further comments might therefore be unnecessary. We just wish to mention that we deem it useful to have the teachers of the upper grades substitute in the lower grades and vice versa, although this measure may depend on the personalities involved and on the specific circumstances. In this way all the teachers will get to know almost all the students, including the bad ones; and frequent staff-meetings will have to be held with focus on the moral situation in the school or on the behaviour of individual students.





The benefit that can be the outcome of such conferences for the moral education of our students is obvious. We therefore urge you to initiate such meetings and to report within the next 8 weeks that those conferences have been held, how often they have been conducted, and what kind of response has been effected. We realize that the concern for moral education is a serious problem, particularly since this kind of education has to be pursued incessantly. However, the envisaged results are so gratifying that they can fill the soul with all the enthusiasm which alone can ennoble and sanctify the effectiveness and the professionalism of the teacher.

















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